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ABSTRACT

Major research findings are synthesized and innovations of current concern to vocational rehabilitation professionals are reported in this document, which covers the area of sheltered industrial employment. It is intended to provide a state-of-the-art review of worldwide experience and conceptualizations regarding accommodated or sheltered employment in both the segregated and mainstream worlds of work for workers with disabilities, and to provide an information base for future planning of implementation strategies for accommodated or sheltered mainstream projects in the public and private sectors in the United States. Topics covered in the introduction include the following: definitions, legal background, consumer views and demands, philosophical perspectives, wage versus welfare, and alternatives. Chapter 2 provides information on segregated employment opportunities, to the limited extent that they offer pure opportunities for employment rather than rehabilitation services. Chapter 3 provides information on worldwide experience with mainstream employment. Chapter 4 provides a brief sampling of information on American experience relating to the role of industry in preparing disabled people for work in mainstream settings. All chapters emphasize experience relevant to workers with disabilities so severe that accommodation or shelter is required for them to work. Chapter 5 presents considerations for the future and some ideas, conclusions, and suggestions for how the body of experience described might be used in planning future action. An annotated bibliography is included. (TA)

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EMERGING ISSUES IN REHABILITATION

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SHELTERED INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT

BY

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CE 014 796

EMERGING ISSUES IN REHABILITATION

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SERIES

The four comprehensive papers in the EMERGING ISSUES IN REHABILITATION series synthesize major research findings and report on innovations of current concern to vocational rehabilitation professionals:

Independent Living
by Susan Pflueger, with a Foreword by Edward V. Roberts
New Directions in Rehabilitation Outcome Measurement
by Thomas E. Backer, Ph.D.
Perspectives on National Health Insurance and Rehabilitation
by Herbert Dorken, Ph.D., with a Commentary by Joseph LaRocca
Sheltered Industrial Employment
by Carolyn L. Vash, Ph.D.

The Rehabilitation Services Administration Research and Evaluation program (DHEW) has long sought to promote the utilization of research results in order to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of vocational rehabilitation programs. In keeping with that effort, RSA made a grant to the Institute for Research Utilization to identify, select, and summarize the literature in selected areas of urgent concern to the vocational rehabilitation (VR) community. The Grant, Number 22-P-5901 9/3-01, was entitled "Literature Review on Topics of Urgent RSA Need and Concern."

To help ensure the selection of topics relevant to the VR field, the project staff convened a Consumer Panel of representatives of potential user groups: counselors, supervisors, State VR administrators, and planners and policymakers. The panel members nominated, discussed, then ranked in order of urgency, topics which they felt would be desirable for the literature reviews. They also recommended potential subject experts for each topic.

Many rehabilitation practitioners and administrators lack the time to keep up with research developments. They want to know *what* works in a given situation, and *how* to make it work. To facilitate this, each paper was prepared for a specific audience, and written in a clear, readable style. Annotated bibliographies accompany each report.

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DECEMBER 1977

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The last two thanks go to Elizabeth Pan, Principal Investigator, for inviting me to participate in the project, and to Richard Vash, Husband, for putting up with having every flat surface in the house covered with drafts for three months straight.

PREFACE

I am told that I was selected to write this particular paper as much because of my experience as a vocational rehabilitation administrator and as a rehabilitation psychologist as for any writing skills I might possess. I am also a consumer, and whatever my credentials or capabilities in the other areas, that fact will show, from time to time, in the tone of this paper. While I have tried very hard to maintain objectivity when reporting on the work or ideas of others, and have had a bevy of reviewers to keep me honest in this respect, I have at times indulged the impulse to acknowledge certain ironies that, as a consumer, I tend to notice.

The final chapter, "Reflections on the Future," was great fun to write but you may find it an occasionally clangorous mixture of several voices. The consumer, the psychologist, the administrator, even the bureaucrat, speak sometimes by turns and sometimes simultaneously. That very opinionated voice you will hear from time to time is the consumer. The administrator and psychologist are more equivocal and given to seeing both sides of issues, sometimes to the point of taking no stand at all. Not so the consumer. She is much clearer as to what is good for her. The bureaucrat shakes her head from side to side a lot and wonders whether the megalith can be moved to implement any of the recommendations the other three propose. Finally, she breaks loose and makes one herself, one that might even reduce the bureaucracy a bit. The psychologist loves it, the consumer figures it's too good to be true, and the administrator sees immediately that it's full of holes. Nonetheless, they all remain silent, because holes or no, it points in a general direction they believe is right. Maybe someone reading it will begin to see some ways to patch those holes and . . . .

This is a difficult topic to write about. Although there are countless writings on segregated employment and a growing literature on industry's role in work preparation, there is little available from either the U. S. or abroad on the subject matter of accommodated, or sheltered, mainstream employment. The subject experts who assisted me questioned their assigned status but admitted they knew of no one who is an expert and doubted whether any existed — yet — in this relatively uncharted area. Happily, they proved to have endless reservoirs of pertinent information and ideas despite their protestations. The hours spent in interview and exchange with Henry Redkey and Dean Phillips were both intellectually stimulating and a personal pleasure. With that, let us begin.

Carolyn L. Vash
August 3, 1977

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ---------- i

PREFACE ---------- ii

I. INTRODUCTION ---------- 1

A. DEFINITIONS ---------- 1

B. SCOPE AND PURPOSE ---------- 3

C. LEGAL BACKGROUND ---------- 4

D. CONSUMER VIEWS AND DEMANDS ---------- 5

E. PHILOSOPHICAL PERSPECTIVES ---------- 6

F. WAGE VERSUS WELFARE ---------- 8

G. SOME ALTERNATIVES ---------- 9

H. OVERVIEW OF FOLLOWING CHAPTERS ---------- 9

II. SEGREGATED EMPLOYMENT ---------- 11

A. UNITED STATES EXPERIENCE ---------- 12

1. Goodwill Industries ---------- 12
2. Abilities Incorporated ---------- 14
3. The Paraplegics Manufacturing Company, Incorporated -- 15
4. Business by the Disabled/for the Disabled ---------- 16
5. The Javits-Wagner-O'Day Act ---------- 16
6. Wage Subsidies and Supplements ---------- 19

B. EXPERIENCE ABROAD ---------- 20

1. England ---------- 20
2. The Netherlands ---------- 23
3. West Germany ---------- 25
4. Sweden ---------- 26
5. Denmark ---------- 26
6. The Communist Countries ---------- 26
   a. Poland ---------- 28
   b. China ---------- 30

III. MAINSTREAM EMPLOYMENT ---------- 32

A. UNITED STATES EXPERIENCE ---------- 33

1. Semi-Integrated Employment ---------- 33
   a. Business Enterprise Programs ---------- 34
   b. Business Development Section ---------- 35
   c. Enclaves ---------- 36
   d. The Work Crew ---------- 36
2. Fully Integrated Employment ---------- 37
   a. The U. S. Civil Service Commission ---------- 37
   b. A Wisconsin Project ---------- 38
   c. California ---------- 39
   d. Welfare Tax Credit ---------- 40
   e. Industrial Injuries ---------- 40
   f. Special Wage Certification ---------- 41

B. EXPERIENCE ABROAD ---------- 41

1. Semi-Integrated Employment ---------- 41
   a. England ---------- 42
   b. Australia ---------- 43
   c. Sweden ---------- 43
   d. Denmark ---------- 44
   e. The Netherlands ---------- 44
   f. Israel ---------- 44
2. Fully Integrated Employment ---------- 45
   a. Australia ---------- 45
   b. European Countries ---------- 46

IV. THE ROLE OF INDUSTRY IN WORK PREPARATION ---------- 48

A. WORKSHOPS WITHOUT WALLS (WWW) ---------- 49

B. PROJECTS WITH INDUSTRY (PWI) ---------- 51

V. REFLECTIONS ON THE FUTURE ---------- 55

A. RECAPITULATION OF SOME OF THE MAJOR ISSUES ---------- 55

1. Unionization ---------- 55
2. Marketing ---------- 57
3. European Countries ---------- 57
4. Government Control of Workshops ---------- 58
5. Government Subvention of Workshops ---------- 59
6. Mainstream Employment ---------- 59
7. Job Development ---------- 60
8. The Rehabilitation Engineer ---------- 60

9. Accommodations ---------- 61
10. Irrelevant Training ---------- 61
11. Incentives and Disincentives to Employers ---------- 62
12. Innovations ---------- 63
13. Enclaves ---------- 64
14. Finance Consultants ---------- 65
15. Proposed National Center for the Handicapped -------- 65
16. Military Service ---------- 66

B. SYNTHESIS ---------- 67

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ---------- 70

I. INTRODUCTION

This paper is about work opportunities for people with such severe disabilities and vocational handicaps that they cannot fit into a vacant position as easily as the average person. Some kind of "accommodation" or "shelter" is needed. Although only the word "shelter" appears in the title, we will attend equally to accommodations in job situations. In the interest of brevity, "shelter" was selected for the title since it is the more familiar term and is still used generically to denote both concepts.

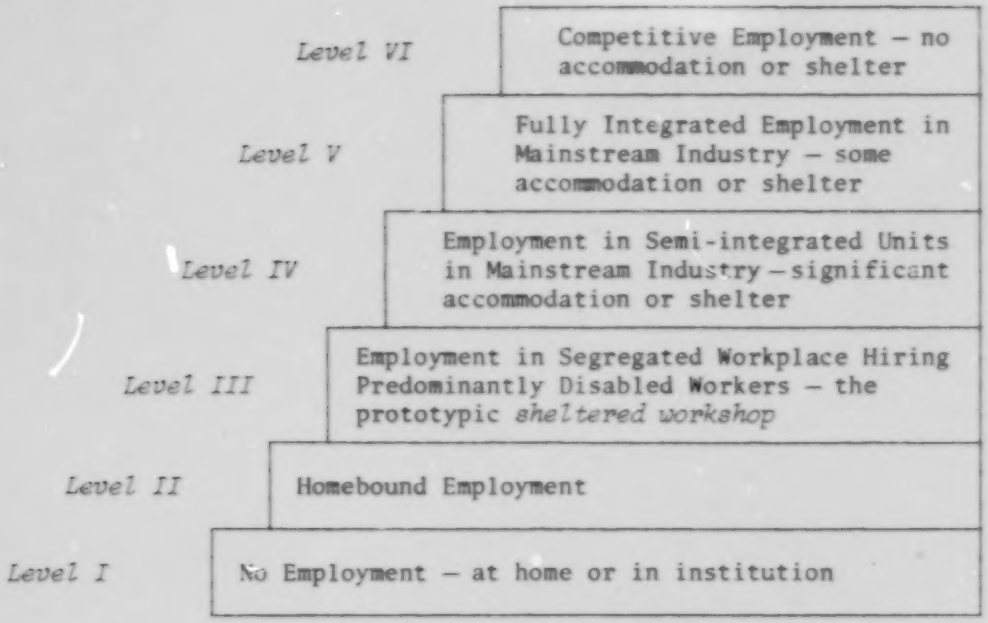
A. DEFINITIONS

"Shelter" is a word we have traditionally used in talking about ways in which a job situation is altered to conform to the needs of the worker who has a disability. However, there is growing discussion lately about such phenomena as the four-day workweek, flex-time, job-sharing, jobsite child care facilities, and so forth. These are also ways in which a job situation can be altered to conform to the needs of the worker, but not because the worker has a disability. Often it is because the worker has parental obligations. In these cases we don't speak of shelter; we generally use the word "accommodation." Whatever words we choose, we are assuredly into an era in which many aspects of jobs are being modified to meet the needs of workers or potential workers, rather than forcing them to make all of the adjustments. Providing accommodations needed by disabled workers is only one facet of this.

The term "shelter" will here be used solely in cases where some degree of reduced production or inappropriate work behavior is tolerated. This phenomenon is by no means limited to disabled workers. We all know at least one nondisabled worker, possibly a colleague, who has been granted such a sheltered employment situation for reasons we may or may not understand. All other instances of adapting to the disabled worker's needs and limitations will be referred to as "accommodation."

Another way of clarifying the distinction is this: *Accommodation* is something an employer provides to enable a worker to perform up to standards. *Shelter* is something the employer provides for selected employees who are unable to meet the standards.

Let us turn for a moment to a diagram which illustrates the conceptual framework of this topic.


Level VI
Competitive Employment – no accommodation or shelter
Level V
Fully Integrated Employment in Mainstream Industry – some accommodation or shelter
Level IV
Employment in Semi-integrated Units in Mainstream Industry – significant accommodation or shelter
Level III
Employment in Segregated Workplace Hiring Predominantly Disabled Workers – the prototypic *sheltered workshop*
Level II
Homebound Employment
Level I
No Employment – at home or in institution

Looking at the diagram, one sees an ascending scale of increasing integration into the mainstream world of work, coupled with decreasing accommodation or shelter. Some additional terms used in the diagram require explicit definition for the present context.

The term "industry" reflects the general sense, so familiar in rehabilitation, of work that exists anywhere other than a workshop with a prime purpose of providing services to client-workers, not the production of goods. It also means employment in the real world of work, including all types of business and professional pursuits, not just the narrow meaning of industry as manufacture and processing.

The term "mainstream" is borrowed from education where it has become a very familiar term over the past five years. It is used here with respect to employment in a similar way and refers to employment, again in the real world of work, rather than in a separate track. As in education, it is not an all-or-nothing proposition: there are degrees of mainstreaming.

The opposite of mainstream employment is "segregated employment" in a separate, specialized, sheltered workshop where most of one's coworkers are also disabled. The exceptions would probably be management and rehabilitation services staff, and a few nondisabled workers hired to do heavy or complex work that staff believe disabled workers could not do.

A step up from segregated employment is what is here called "semi-integrated employment." The blind-operated vending and food service operations in public buildings offer a familiar example of this in the U. S. The blind and otherwise disabled workers in these concessions come to work in the same plant as nondisabled workers, allowing for some familiarizing contact and socialization between them, even though they are not integrated into the same work force.

Finally, there is employment for workers with disabilities that is fully integrated into a mainstream work operation. "Fully integrated employment" comes close to what is typically referred to as "competitive industrial employment," but where accommodations have been made to permit the disabled worker to perform adequately. Occasionally, even a little shelter may be offered.

You may have noticed consistent use of the term "disabled" rather than "handicapped," although the words are often used interchangeably. Here, "disability" is used to denote the residual impairment of psychological, anatomical, or physiological functioning resulting from illness, injury, or birth defect. Blindness, deafness, and paralysis are examples of such. "Handicap" is used to denote the extent to which the disability interferes with the individual's efforts to perform in a given life area. Whether or not a person is handicapped by a disability depends on what he or she is trying to do. Therefore, while it would make sense to speak of "a disabled person" because the disability itself is relatively unchanging, it would not make sense to speak of "a handicapped person" in a general way. Almost no one, however severely disabled, is handicapped in all activities.

The kinds of activities in which the individual is handicapped depend partly on the nature of the disability: whether it impairs sensory, motor, intellectual, emotional, or other functioning. In this report we will be concerned with every kind of disability, but only one kind of handicap – *vocational*.

B. SCOPE AND PURPOSE

The pages which follow have two objectives. One is to provide a state-of-the-art review of worldwide experience and conceptualizations regarding accommodated or sheltered employment in both the segregated and mainstream worlds of work for workers with disabilities. The other is to provide an information base for future planning of implementation strategies for accommodated or sheltered mainstream projects in the public and private sectors in the U. S.

The primary focus of the paper will be upon levels IV and V – the levels characterized as semi-integrated and fully integrated employment with elements of accommodation or shelter. However, segregated employment is often a critical factor in disabled workers' movement into mainstream employment, and may be an integral part of systems designed to promote more of it in the future. For these reasons, considerable attention will also be given to level III, segregated employment. As much as possible, this will be limited to work that is truly employment – a way of earning a living – not a vehicle for work evaluation, work adjustment, or other rehabilitation services.

The line is not always clear, however. In addition, industrial involvement in the work preparation of disabled workers is seen as an increasingly important factor in getting disabled workers into mainstream employment. For similar reasons, then, some attention will also be given to experience and future possibilities in this area.

C. LEGAL BACKGROUND

The U. S. citizen with a disability is enjoying a new-found status of being legally protected from discrimination in employment. This is a dramatic change from centuries ago when the "cripple" was an openly castigated social pariah, or only a decade or so ago when the "invalid" was an object of pity and protection. The term "invalid" seems laughable in relation to the militancy reflected in acronyms such as The B.A.D.D. Action Coalition and H.A.S.S.L.E. – two political action organizations of people with disabilities.

The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 contains two sections which offer legal protection to disabled persons with respect to employment under Federal contracts (section 503) and program participation under Federal grants (section 504). Following a monthlong, loosely coordinated seige of simultaneous, nationwide demonstrations by disabled leaders in the consumer movement – many of whom were very severely disabled, very militant, very eloquent, and very effective – the long-delayed regulations governing section 504 were signed by the HEW Secretary in March 1977. This ushered in a new era with respect to mainstream employment for workers with disabilities. The emphasis moved from "whether," to "how" and "when," albeit "when" may be as much a problem as architectural barrier legislation.

Federal laws of this nature have very limited direct applicability. Their primary value is as enabling legislation, serving as a springboard for States to develop similar laws with greater opportunity for enforcement. In the case of nondiscrimination in employment, many

States were ahead of the Federal Government in passing laws which ensured that job applicants or workers with disabilities would be protected from unfair employment practices.

A January 1977 survey (Wheatley, 1977) conducted by the Civil Rights Office of the California State Department of Rehabilitation reveals that 15 States have laws which protect both physically and mentally disabled people and 11 States have laws which protect physically disabled people only. Eighteen States reported having no laws protecting either group, and seven States did not respond. The 15 States which protect both the physically and mentally disabled are Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Texas, Washington, and Wisconsin. The 11 States which protect only the physically disabled are California, Connecticut, Hawaii, Kansas, Kentucky, Nevada, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Virginia, as well as Florida, which reported no laws, but has a constitutional statement to the effect that "No person shall be deprived of any right because of . . . physical handicap."

D. CONSUMER VIEWS AND DEMANDS

The days of market research in the field of publicly supported human services have arrived. The market, comprised of disabled consumers, is being surveyed as to need at many levels and locations in Federal and State government. The means for providing and obtaining input are many and diverse. Public hearings, consumer advisory boards, letters to Congressional representatives, and demonstrations are but a few examples.

In May of this year, the White House Conference on Handicapped Individuals constituted a high-level national effort to give, receive, and put into some manageable form, the massive amount of data on consumer needs, views, and demands. Although at the time of this writing the report of the White House Conference was not yet available, the report from one of the "preconferences" held in each State gives the flavor of what disabled citizens of this country feel they need and have a right to expect in terms of employment.

Following are some of the work-related issues California consumers raised during their preconference in November 1976:

- How can corporate tax provisions be modified to improve access to employment for disabled persons?
- How can civil service testing procedures be improved for disabled job applicants?

- How can civil service hiring procedures be improved and regulations modified to permit greater job access, mobility, and advancement for disabled individuals?

- What changes in insurance laws and regulations are needed?

- What is the appropriate role of the sheltered workshop?

- Should sheltered workshops be decentralized into neighborhood locations adjacent to existing work facilities or with community residential facilities?

The recommendations associated with the last two issues were that sheltered workshops should:

- Include terminal employment opportunities for people who cannot qualify for employment in the public or private sector.

- Pay at least minimum wages to all employees working in production activities after a designated training assignment has been completed.

- Locate near other employment opportunities in both urban and rural settings.

- Wherever possible, training programs or contract operations should be performed on the employer's jobsite.

Additional issues were raised relating to the transfer of technology so that disabled people can receive the benefits of technological advancements as quickly as possible. That, of course, has considerable employment relevance.

E. PHILOSOPHICAL PERSPECTIVES

Currently, such organizations as The B.A.D.D. Action Coalition and H.A.S.S.L.E. are more directly concerned with welfare than employment issues, but the two are inextricably tied. A principal battle concerns the disincentives to becoming gainfully employed which inhere in the welfare laws, regulations, and interpretations at both the Federal and State levels. Herein lies a crucial philosophical issue underlying the entire topic of this paper.

It is clear that we are reluctant to let Americans who are physically or mentally unable to care for themselves die of starvation and exposure. We usually provide at least the rudiments of nourishment and shelter. Sometimes we go even further: we furnish some medical care and even talk about allowing for something called "dignity." However much all of this costs, the public pays, through taxes. The taxes go into a pot called "the welfare system." Some people get their income there. Other people get theirs from "the employment system." This creates two classes of people who get their incomes from the two respective systems. The ones who get their income from the employment system are considered better people. The ones who get their income from the welfare system are considered lazy, defective, or worse.

From a historical perspective, providing income for people with disabilities through the welfare system was a great and progressive social accomplishment. As in most countries, aid to blind people came much earlier than for people with restricted mobility or other disabilities. For the rest, such aid is only a couple of decades old and is still not fully ensconced in many States. The advent of "Aid to the Totally and Permanently Disabled" welfare programs heralded an awakening to the fact that just because an individual lacks the usual and expected abilities to use his or her body or mind, this does not automatically mean lifelong institutionalization.

The concept that a totally paralyzed person needing respiratory assistance could go home and manage a household if provided the necessary equipment and service supports, was bold and beautiful — in its time. It helped to create the very environment that has now caused it to become obsolete. The original concepts of "totally" and "permanently" disabled no longer make sense in a world where the director of a large State agency with an annual budget nearing 100 million dollars has permanent paralysis of 98% of his muscles and must spend 14 out of every 24 hours in a tank respirator.

Many of the work disincentives built into the current welfare program for people with disabilities are carryovers from the older thinking: that if a person is "totally" and "permanently" disabled, work is simply not an issue to be reckoned with. Now we know that it is, and the brave new social legislation which so recently opened up new worlds of independence and freedom has become old and interfering with respect to disabled people moving from the welfare system to the employment system for their income so they can be considered among the "better people."

F. WAGE VERSUS WELFARE

Delong (1975) asks the question:

> "Should the individual who cannot fit into a normal work situation be treated as a social welfare case or should he be considered a potential contributing member of the work force, one who can realize his potential if he can find employment in a situation suited to his capabilities?"

Black (1965) looks at the issue in a somewhat different way;

> "When we say that the need to work involves a basic human right, and that society must provide the opportunity for work to the handicapped, who is society in this instance? Do we mean industry . . . government . . . sheltered workshops . . .? What is the business community's greater charity — providing work to some proportion of the 'higher risk' employees or contributing charitable dollars to the partial support of a sheltered workshop that takes such employment off its hands?"

It would be nice to think that such questions were dredged from the historical archives, but if you notice the dates, you'll see that they were not. These are only two of many examples that might have been selected. The current literature is full of them.

Gersuny and Lefton (1970) in a pungent article titled "Service and Servitude in the Sheltered Workshop" point out that because our present workshops need clients to justify their existence and provide a livelihood for their staff members, there is a similarity between recruitment of a servile labor force and the recruitment of clients for service organizations. They cite the mandatory or "strongly encouraged" attendance at chapel services at some of the church-related workshop programs to illustrate the very personal ways in which the workshop organization controls the disabled worker.

Nelson (1971) cites Jacobus Ten Broek's scathing critique of sheltered workshops wherein he concludes that there is no place for them in vocational rehabilitation, at least for the blind. He calls the use of work as a beneficial process for training or rehabilitation a "dubious duality" and asserts that if the blind cannot find work in competitive industry, they should be given adequate sums to

enable them to manage their own affairs. They should not work in workshops just for the sake of working. If they work, they should always be paid an adequate wage for an adequate standard of living. This view highlights not only the wage versus welfare issue, but shows its relationship to the underlying issue of the work ethic itself. Ten Broek obviously did not hold to an "occupational identification at any cost" philosophy as many people still seem to do.

G. SOME ALTERNATIVES

Nelson (1971) also discusses some alternatives to workshops which might circumvent Ten Broek's and others' criticisms. He suggests that, "Industry might be paid to take handicapped persons into their regular programs and enable them to become acceptable employees." This is now happening on a broad scale for poor people, generally, through the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). In many areas of the country, rehabilitation agencies and consumer advocate groups are pressing hard to ensure that CETA moneys are used for disabled poor people.

Another alternative cited by Nelson is that industry could be paid to set up social programs to accomplish what workshops now do. Still other alternatives are that nonprofit agencies buy and take over industrial firms or that handicapped persons organize companies and operate businesses for themselves. He points out that these proposals are close to the regular work process and do not appear to be seeking charitable help.

Examples of each of these alternatives will be presented in the ensuing chapters, along with many other approaches which have been taken or conceived of to make work opportunities for disabled people closer to the mainstream world of work.

H. OVERVIEW OF FOLLOWING CHAPTERS

There are endless factual and philosophical issues and questions to raise surrounding the central theme of wage vs. welfare, but this is not the place to explore or try to answer them. Instead, let them wash about in your mind as you read the following chapters. Chapter II provides information on segregated employment opportunities, including the so-called sheltered workshops, to the limited extent that they offer pure opportunities for employment rather than rehabilitation services. Relevant experience from both the U. S. and abroad will be covered. This will also be true in Chapter III, which provides information on worldwide experience with mainstream employment: what has here

been referred to as "semi-integrated" and "fully integrated." Chapter IV will provide a brief sampling of information on American experience relating to the role of industry in preparing disabled people for work in mainstream settings. All of these chapters will emphasize experience relevant to workers with disabilities so severe that some kind of accommodation or shelter is required for them to work. Chapter V will present considerations for the future and some ideas, conclusions, and suggestions for how the body of experience described might be used in planning future action.

II. SEGREGATED EMPLOYMENT

This chapter will survey those employment opportunities for disabled workers which exist outside of the mainstream world of work. Although the literature abounds with material relating to "sheltered workshops," where a high proportion of the jobs available for seriously disabled workers are, very little of this voluminous material relates to the jobs which exist in those workshops. That aspect is almost hidden away, while articles discuss exciting new trends in rehabilitation services. Work evaluation techniques, work adjustment methods, and work experience outcomes — all these have professional respectability. If the workshop can claim to do job skill training, respectability skyrockets. Placement, of course, is the *summum bonum* of life.

Placement in this context means that you force the person to leave your employ and go to work for another industry — variously referred to as "open," "regular," "competitive," "ordinary," or "mainstream." In a burst of honesty, the writer may confess that not all clients are placed elsewhere because they are *very* severely disabled. Other writers will charge that they place only their so-so workers in open industry, and keep-and-exploit their best. Whatever the truth on that issue, the more deeply one delves into the topic of workshop-as-job-resource, the clearer becomes Ten Broek's "dubious duality" concept. Although the workshops are a major employer of disabled people — at least from the disabled person's point of view — it is all too often a discredited function in the eyes of the workshop staff. Herein lie some very sad tales.

The remainder of the chapter will be devoted to reporting the worldwide literature and interviews with key experts on the subject of segregated industrial employment for disabled workers who require some degree of accommodation or even shelter in their work situation. Descriptions of workshops will be very selective, due to the voluminous nature of partially and/or tangentially related material. Those selected offer potentially the largest job market or have elements considered to have potential as models for future planning. Coverage of industries which happen to be segregated but in other respects are like open industry — that is, they are "profit motivated" and are not primarily service organizations — will be more comprehensive.

The first section will describe American experience. Goodwill Industries, Abilities Inc., and the Paraplegics Manufacturing Co. (PAMCO) have been chosen as good illustrative examples of segregated, real work, industrial settings for disabled and other hard-to-place workers. Goodwill is the largest such operation in the world. Abilities Inc., has a clear mission statement that productive work, not services,

is their objective. Both are nonprofit. PAMCO is a successful, for-profit industrial operation that hires predominantly disabled workers. Next, the Javits-Wagner-O'Day Act will be described and its implications for segregated work settings discussed. This Act moves the segregated work settings themselves closer to mainstream industry. The issue of wage supplements for disabled workers will be touched upon and one demonstration of their effects described. The objective is to familiarize the reader with the essences of these approaches.

The second section will describe and discuss experience abroad, predominantly European, in the segregated employment sector. This material will be presented on a country-by-country basis, and the first objective is to familiarize the reader with a broad range of concepts which are being tried, with varying degrees of success, in other parts of the world. The countries reported on are England, the Netherlands, West Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and the Communist countries, including Poland and China. The second objective is to provide a basis for evaluating the principles and practices found in the U. S. Experience with government versus privately operated workshops, homebound employment, profits versus costs in sheltered work settings, subsidization of various types, quota laws, and many other phenomena will be presented. From this, the reader may compare and contrast the different experiences and their reported outcomes to determine what might be most worth replicating or modifying in the U. S.

A. UNITED STATES EXPERIENCE

1. Goodwill Industries

Goodwill Industries is probably the best-known opportunity for employment for people with disabilities in the United States. In fact, Goodwill and the Salvation Army may be the only rehabilitation phenomena in the country which have achieved the status of being "household words." The Salvation Army, however, is best known for its relief work throughout the world, whereas Goodwill is better known as "the place where you go to get a job if no one else will hire you."

Dean Phillips, President of Goodwill Industries of America, runs this coordinating agency for the 160 autonomous Goodwills throughout the United States, Africa, Canada, Asia, and Central and South America. Phillips indicates that Goodwill began as a conjoint effort to provide inexpensive clothing for the poor and a sheltered workplace for physically disabled people. Goodwills have continued to offer such work opportunities since 1902. They only began to add vocational training, the first rehabilitation service, during World War II. Phillips

points out that "Each Goodwill grew like Topsy in its own community and, as a result, they run the gamut of sophistication."

Historically, the primary source of work for the disabled workers and income for the Goodwill installation has been the salvage operation: the refurbishment of donated goods for resale. Today, however, Goodwills are moving increasingly into industrial subcontracts as a source of work and into rehabilitation services as a source of revenue. Many factors have contributed to this. Products are no longer produced for repairability in this era of the handy, dandy, disposable everything. The flea market and gargage sale manias, which are proving to be long-lived, have further undercut the potential of salvage operations. Vocational training, plus work evaluation and work adjustment, all of which are consumed voraciously by the State vocational rehabilitation agencies, have become highly prized sources of involvement and income for workshops, and Goodwills are no exception. Moreover, Phillips indicates that Goodwill Industries of America (GIA) is consciously fostering an image of Goodwills as comprehensive rehabilitation centers, not just the "employer of last resort."

The impact of this trend was noted above. Almost no one is interested in just offering opportunities for employment anymore. The few very major exceptions are described below.

Phillips acknowledges that the issue is controversial. He believes, however, that deinstitutionalization pressures have put a heavy service burden on workshops whether they want it or not, because the needed normalization programs are lacking elsewhere. On the other hand, he cites with obvious dismay the fact that a large metropolitan Goodwill recently closed its salvage operation altogether, intending to survive solely through rehabilitation services. He asks the question, "What do we do now with the people who were laid off and need sheltered employment?"

Phillips indicates a personal belief that whatever Goodwills do with respect to services, they must continue as a sheltered place to work because, according to the Greenleigh study (1969), for many people it's the only game in town. Nonetheless, work preparation, aimed toward moving workers into regular industry, should continue. Along these lines, he cites an innovative program at Indianapolis Goodwill wherein Western Electric has placed equipment to train people until they are ready to work for Western Electric.

Henry Redkey, Retired Chief of the Division of Rehabilitation Facilities for the Rehabilitation Services Administration, states that he believes the Goodwill phenomenon came about partly because society wanted to get the handicapped out of sight, as well as to

provide work for them. Then, during World War II, large numbers of disabled people were absorbed into the work force. He ruefully notes that when we really need workers, we CAN put disabled people to work. Later, the vocational rehabilitation system pushed Goodwill and others to move them into industry, and use workshops as service facilities rather than places of permanent work.

2. Abilities Incorporated

Abilities Incorporated in Long Island, New York, is also a nonprofit organization. Vice-President Frank Gentile (1975) describes it as a demonstration industrial and clerical work center which could serve as a model for any modern industrial and business complex. All workers are either disabled, retarded, or aged, and they work a full 40-hour week up to industrial standards. The worker receives at least the minimum wage or higher, commensurate with experience, plus all usual fringe benefits. These include life insurance, medical insurance, and a pension plan, all at no extra cost. An engineering team evaluates both the job and the worksite and makes modifications as needed. Many modifications have proved helpful to nondisabled workers and have been adopted by local industry. At the present time, there are about 150 employees. There had been up to 450 during the halcyon days of aerospace contracts, but when this market evaporated, management diversified and reduced the work population to 150.

Gentile (1977) indicates they have considered putting satellites – their term for enclave and, perhaps, a better one – into regular industry, but have not yet done so. In a sense they have reversed this process. They have a bank branch on the premises at Abilities Inc. where they train people to be bank computer operators. The Indianapolis Goodwill-Western Electric program is similar in concept to this one.

According to Locascio (1966), Abilities Inc. lent key staff members to help get a Florida organization started to provide training and employment for disabled and aged workers. Their basic policies were: to create a normal, competitive, industrial setting; to secure contracts by competitive bids; to pay prevailing wages; to use modern industrial equipment and production techniques; to give physical examinations *after* the decision to hire has been made; and to emphasize the demonstration motive of the project for others to learn from. Locascio considers this demonstration highly successful, and cites the fact that the new organization survived a recession as evidence.

Nunn (1977) describes the same program, stressing its transitional features. It provides on-the-job training for people with all types of disabilities, or other vocationally handicapping conditions

such as age, to move them into employment in full industrial facilities. Relatively high-level training is made possible by the fact that Abilities Inc. of Florida holds a "Secret" clearance from the Department of Defense to perform classified Government contracts. All clients are screened by the State vocational rehabilitation (VR) agency to establish their ability to be trained, and Locascio indicates that all of the severely disabled clients trained to meet the high quality standards demanded by the military have been eagerly absorbed by the local electronics industry community.

3. The Paraplegics Manufacturing Company, Incorporated

The Paraplegics Manufacturing Company, Incorporated (PAMCO) in Bensenville, Illinois, offers a unique example of a for-profit industry created by disabled veterans especially for the purpose of providing employment opportunities for people with disabilities.

PAMCO currently employs about 100 people, most of whom are disabled. However, Dwight Guilfoil, President of PAMCO, indicates in a personal communication that increasing opportunities for disabled people to find employment in regular industry are making it difficult to find sufficient disabled employees. Since it is a for-profit corporation, it will undoubtedly have to hire nondisabled workers to take up the slack. Perhaps in the future, PAMCO will be included in the "mainstream" rather than the "segregated" section of a report such as this one!

PAMCO's public relations brochures indicate, "Since the company's founding in 1951, PAMCO has specialized in contract manufacture of electrical, electronic and mechanical assemblies." They describe themselves as specialists in wiring, soldering, assembly, testing, and packaging. Recalling a visit I made to PAMCO in 1968, it is a fairly typical industrial job shop, except that a large number of the employees had visible disabilities. From conversations with the staff, many others had nonvisible disabilities, such as cardiac problems.

PAMCO's inception was similar to that of the Invalid's Cooperatives in Poland (described below). That is, it was begun by 70 paraplegic veterans who pledged a purchase of stock and mortgaged their homes and cars to raise the needed $25,000. The European literature reveals that the Invalid's Cooperatives were begun by 30 assertive disabled veterans who needed to create a solution to their own problems.

PAMCO has celebrated its 25th anniversary and appears to be doing well. It is a unique model which both the professional and official communities have largely ignored for 25 years. Perhaps the

consumer community will learn from it and attempt to emulate it elsewhere. (See "Business by the Disabled/for the Disabled," below.)

4. Business by the Disabled/for the Disabled

"Business by the disabled/for the disabled" is a term that could have been invented 25 years ago by the founders of PAMCO, and maybe it was. However, it was introduced recently by leaders in the consumer movement as an important component in their independent living programs. The forerunner of these programs, the Center for Independent Living in Berkeley, California, has such an operation in its wheelchair and van repair shop. There, they perform a desperately needed service for disabled people in the community and, at the same time, earn enough money from the endeavor to support several other needed but nonremunerative program components.

The independent living programs which are appearing all over the country are very aware that they will not persist forever on startup grants and that they must find revenue generators they can control and count on. Their own versions of business by the disabled/for the disabled will probably be one of the answers for a number of these programs.

5. The Javits-Wagner-O'Day Act

The Javits-Wagner-O'Day (JWOD) Act is of inestimable importance to any nonprofit workshop providing employment opportunities to disabled workers. The original Wagner-O'Day Act, passed in 1938, was designed to make mandatory the purchase, by all government agencies, of certain items from qualified agencies for the blind. A central agency, the National Industries for the Blind (NIB), was established to represent the workshops, allocate orders, and give technical assistance. The Committee for Purchase from the Blind, comprised of officials from the major procuring and operational departments of the Federal Government, and commonly known as the "statutory committee," was given the legal authority to execute the responsibilities of the Act. It selects the items and publishes them in catalog form, known as the schedule, or the procurement list. It also establishes a fair market price for the items, which can be changed as market conditions change. Only nonprofit organizations can participate, and 75% of their employees must be visually handicapped.

In 1971 the Act was extended to include sighted, severely handicapped people. The legislation was sponsored by Senator Jacob K. Javits and others. The statutory committee became the Committee for

Purchase of Products and Services from Blind and Other Severely Handicapped, public members were added, and it was provided with a staff. The Act established an exclusive priority order which placed the prison industries in first priority and blind agencies second, with respect to products. Their priority on services was to expire after five years, after which sighted, severely handicapped would share second priority. The five-year mark is past, and, as it turns out, the services component has become almost the exclusive province of the sighted, severely handicapped.

Just as NIB was established to help implement the 1938 Act, the National Industries for the Severely Handicapped (NISH) was established to help implement the new provisions of the 1971 Act. Like NIB, NISH researches commodities and services from Federal Government purchasing sources and tries to match them to workshop resources. If a workshop wants to develop an item, NIB or NISH asks the Committee to assign it to them. The Committee then seeks clearance from those with priority under the Act.

NISH Executive Director Harry Clements (1977) provides a progress report on this new organization which came into being in 1974. In it, he indicates that checks are also made for activity on a given item under other procurement policy programs conducted by the Small Business Administration for cooperative purposes, even though they have no legal priority. Next, the item is cleared for industry impact; that is, the impact of removing it from the income of any industrial firm that has been a consistent supplier of it to the Government. It is not intended that the program impose any undue financial burden to any private company. Next, the workshop and NISH prepare a plan to determine if the commodity or service can be provided within the fair market price derived from the most recent competitive bids for the item. If so, the Committee is requested to put the item on the official Federal procurement list.

An interesting placement trend is that the workshops involved in JWOD contracts are showing a placement rate about double that reported by Greenleigh Associates (1975). Clements projects future accomplishments of 60 new contracts per year valued at over five million dollars and entailing 600 new jobs for disabled workers. He sees about 45 new workshops participating each year, and 400 clients from participating workshops finding competitive employment. Since the cost buildup to the fair market price includes a modest fee for NISH, he expects that in a short time the need for Federal grant support will be deleted and each NISH operation will be self-sufficient.

As forward-looking as all of this sounds, there is trouble in paradise. Clements observes that the legitimacy of the procedures and the adequacy of the Committee and its staff have been challenged

in two recent court cases and two administrative appeals to Congress' General Accounting Office, brought by private companies concerned with certain products being processed in the program. All four decisions supported the Committee and have strengthened the evenhanded but often slow-paced program.

Phillips also points out some rather poignant problems. Section 8-A3 of Small Business Administration (SBA) regulations gives priority on small business set-aside contracts to minority small businesses in the for-profit sector. He notes that Rockwell International, for example, had a small business representative on the payroll simply to look out for things being bought that could be farmed out to small businesses, where minorities are given first priority by law. Section 8-A3 does not take precedence over the JWOD Act, but because of the large number of people working under it, many contracts are secured. By comparison, NIB does $42 million per year in Government contracts and NISH $15 million. The SBA does $18 billion.

Moreover, in addition to the challenges related by Clements, Phillips recounts two critical incidents which did not turn out so favorably. The National Association of Wiping Cloth Dealers sued Goodwill Industries for producing wiping cloths to sell to the Government for fear they would lose their business to subsidized nonprofit business. They got an environmental impact study on the basis of the rationale that the country would be three feet deep in rags! The Commission on Environmental Quality in the Environmental Protection Agency insisted the study must be done before Goodwill could proceed. However, the Senate Committee on Appropriations refused to fund it. In the resulting impasse, Goodwill has been effectively prevented from pursuing that project.

Along similar lines, a Texas workshop got paper clips put on the procurement list, and the National Association of Paper Clip Manufacturers stopped it with testimony that it would ruin them and they would have to lay off workers. Manufacturers from the entire industry, 620 people in all, conducted a letterwriting campaign to stop a 20-employee workshop from "destroying their business." Both associations are operating on the principle that you must not let the camel get his nose inside the tent.

The importance of "mini-JWOD Acts" in the various States is stressed by all thinkers on the subject. Chuck Richman, of the Association of Rehabilitation Facilities, claims that New York is the pioneer but several other States are on their way. In California, for example, Jerry Demerais, Executive Director of the California Association of Rehabilitation Facilities (Cal-ARF), notes that a bill chartered in 1974, which might be called a mini-JWOD Act, was never

implemented. Cal-ARF is currently seeking legislation for implementation: $20,000 in State appropriations to secure an $80,000 Federal match.

Demarais projects that $1 million in contracts could be obtained in the first year from the General Services Administration of the State and from local governments, including school districts. He points out that this would mean approximately 2,300 jobs for disabled workers in the State, because while California shops now have the capacity, they lack the work flow. Such a bill would provide the needed work.

The purchase of Modglin-Maid by the National Industries for the Blind reflects an entirely different approach to several problems. Rusalem and Ricterman (1971) describe the process by which NIB took over the failing industrial plant in the late 1960's. In the course of fulfilling its function vis-à-vis the JWOD Act, NIB came to see the need for an experimental laboratory-type of workshop. They purchased "both the goodwill and assets" of Modglin-Maid Corporation, a plastics business, for this purpose.

Blind persons were given preference in hiring, equipment was modified, existing staff was retrained, and rehabilitation staff was brought in. Cooperative arrangements with other workshops were established wherein Modglin-Maid manufactured components of products produced at other NIB workshops. The venture was considered highly successful, and the authors conclude that with proper planning and administrative controls it is realistic to consider purchasing an ongoing industrial enterprise and convert it into a workshop. They warn that the technical assistance available from an organization such as NIB is critical.

6. Wage Subsidies and Supplements

Wage subsidies and supplements are topics on which a great deal has been said and written. Oddly, it is often in the context of comparing the U. S. unfavorably with other countries. It is true we have done very little with respect to wage subsidies or supplements, but government, especially Federal, subsidization of workshop construction, expansion, staffing, and equipment in this country has been very great indeed.

One project in the late sixties demonstrated the value of temporary wage supplements very well. An employment demonstration project at a rehabilitation hospital (Vash, 1969) was able to grant Manpower Development and Training Act stipends to severely disabled outpatients who were also earning wages in the workshop located on

the hospital grounds. In fact, some were additionally receiving Aid to the Totally Disabled welfare grants. Although all participants had been previously rejected for service by the State VR agency, 45% were placed in employment as a result of project efforts. Why? Among other things, it was speculated that the clients got addicted to having money and were motivated to do whatever they had to do to keep it coming in. They learned that the pleasanter life, with freedom and mobility, money made possible, was reasonable for them to aspire to.

Beyond this, the clients were given incentives to save as much of their money as possible toward the purchase of private transportation. A dramatic difference was found between those who got automobiles and those who did not. Nearly 70% of those who got cars were placed in employment during the project, whereas less than 30% of those who did not get cars were successfully placed in employment. A 40% difference would seem to reflect a very critical variable that has largely been ignored because it involves an initial outlay of some magnitude. As you will see in the next section, at least one European country is providing cars to rehabilitants rather routinely.

B. EXPERIENCE ABROAD

1. England

England's Department of Employment published "Sheltered Employment for Disabled People: A Consultative Document" in 1973. Its comprehensiveness was found to be unique, and a fairly extensive summary of it will be presented.

In a historical note, they point out that sheltered employment began as a voluntary effort with health and welfare as the aim, and charity the means. This pattern was redrawn along employment lines as a result of wartime needs and progress in medical science. The pioneer work was done during the Boer War and further progress made during World War I. In 1941, the Tomlinson Committee crystallized the concept of sheltered employment into a compound of welfare and real work with rehabilitation as the ideal. The Committee suggested that workshops produce articles required for war or other public purposes. The most important recommendation was that the central government should set up a company to build and run the sheltered workshops. In 1944, the Disabled Persons' Employment Act was passed to implement this recommendation through a company known as Remploy Limited. A tripod structure was created, comprised of local authorities, voluntary bodies, and Remploy.

Remploy is a nonprofit company, and its government subsidy goes toward the cost of employing severely disabled workers, not price reductions. The managing director is advised by personnel and financial directors, a company secretary, and two other paid directors. Each is responsible for a product group, including its marketing responsibilities. There are liaison officers to foster local interest in the factories and work with the Department of Employment regionally. Each factory has medical advisers and a works committee. At the time of the report, there were 85 such factories and the total number of severely disabled workers had reached 8,000.

Nearly 4,000 more are employed in workshops run by local authorities and voluntary bodies. Each organization typically provides for only a given category of people. Many also provide residential accommodations.

Home-based employment is much bigger in England and other European countries than it is in the U. S. About 1,000 English, out of a total sheltered work force of some 13,500, are engaged in homeworking schemes. Close to 250 of them are employed by Remploy. Pickup and delivery of materials is provided and so are tools and equipment. Assistance in marketing and business development is also offered. They are finding, however, that homeworking schemes are not compatible with modern industrial development, and homebound employment may decrease.

Most Remploy establishments were built soon after World War II. They tend to be largely factories employing 100 or more people. Recently, local authority developments have concentrated on providing smaller, 30 to 40 worker, workshops in less predominantly industrial areas. Most sheltered work is manual, although there are some clerical and supervisory opportunities. Remploy manufactures branded products for the national market, but is turning increasingly to subcontract work, which requires a minimum of capital and work engineering for the facility, and a minimum of skill on the part of the worker. Some workshops produce and sell goods on their own account, ranging from traditional goods in local markets tc national markets of branded goods, such as Remploy furniture. In the latter case, a large organization is required to bear the risks and sustain the overhead involved in a national marketing operation.

There are two basic wage patterns: one in workshops covered by the National Joint Council of Workshops for the Blind and Disabled, and the other on Remploy lines, whether in Remploy itself or in local authority or voluntary body workshops that have elected to follow that model. National Joint Council rates are linked to certain manual worker rates of pay, supplemented sometimes by a production bonus.

Remploy wage structure is based on a minimum standard for all trades settled by negotiation between management and a consortium of trade unions. Merit and proficiency payments are included. There is also a travel-to-work scheme to help with excessive fares.

The financial contribution made by the Department of Employment varies with the nature of the agency arrangement. Since Remploy is a national company, the annual difference between its expenditures on wages, materials, and overhead and its income from sales is met in full by the government, as is the capital cost of new buildings and equipment. The financial support available to local authorities and voluntary bodies is 75% of approved expenditures on buildings, equipment, and operating costs. The maximum figure for revenue grants is related to actual workshop loss, which gives workshop management a measure of incentive and gives the central government a measure of insurance against unreasonable costs.

The report indicates that operating costs are disturbingly high in relation to wages paid and that "A situation where a man could be paid more for staying at home than for going to work must give grounds for concern." The Department of Employment's research and planning team carried out a detailed financial and economic analysis from 1968 through 1970. The analysis looked at Remploy and a sample of 20 other workshops. The basic questions were, "How does the cost in public funds of providing sheltered employment compare with the cost of providing the alternative social benefits to which the individual would be entitled if unemployed?" and "How did the real resources consumed in the provision of sheltered workshop employment compare with the real resources produced?"

The Department believes that the analysis showed clearly that the cost in public funds was greater than the cost of the alternative social benefits and that the net economic input was greater than the net output, and performance of the blind workshops was appreciably lower than the sighted workshops. The report concluded that sheltered employment finds its justification on social, not economic grounds. The problems mentioned are the same ones we talk about here: the economy of small-scale production; the overhead per unit labor being no less than in ordinary industry while the output is less; management and marketing skills lacking; inability to dismiss or lay off when open industry would; need for continuous flow of suitable work; and reluctance to take risks. The report claims the single most important factor is marketing. It also recommends the development of more enclaves to improve the cost-effectiveness of sheltered employment. Many of the commercial problems of sheltered employment arise from segregation and would not arise in enclaves where marketing facilities, management expertise, and suitable work are readily available.

2. The Netherlands

The Netherlands' Social Employment Act became effective January 1, 1969. It superseded legislation which had for 20 years regulated Social Employment in the Netherlands, during which time it had seen enormous growth. "Social Employment" is government-provided jobs for men and women who would like to work and have the skills but are excluded from open industry because of a disability or for certain other reasons. The Dutch Government has created adapted employment for them, which is aimed at maintaining, recovering, or developing work capacity. Social Employment can be found in about 180 special industries in the Netherlands. Every effort is made to find work to suit the worker, instead of a worker to suit a job. Implementation is entrusted to local authorities who must find or create suitable work. Similar to the Javits-Wagner-O'Day Act, the government stresses that the activities performed must not influence the employment of others in an unjustified way.

The activities are carried out in working projects with sound management frameworks. Although the worker is employed by the government, the contract is not similar to that of a civil servant. People are employed only after a selection procedure, during which they may be placed in one of two categories: (A) workers who are evidently able to do productive work, and (B) those who may reasonably be expected to but there is less certainty. When it is certain that the person placed in category "B" belongs in category "A," he or she is given a permanent contract. If it is certain that placement in category "A" is impossible, then the temporary employment contract is terminated and other activity is found for the person.

For persons employed, the Act provides legal status with rights, obligations, and an appeal system for grievances. The level of wages is such that the worker should be able to earn a living for self and family. The wage levels depend on both the amount and quality of work performed. There are different wage groups for manual and clerical work, and "The devotion given to the work and the attitudes toward the environment are also important" (with respect to wages!). Wage scales are geared to the prevailing wage in government and open industry, and sometimes a Social Employment wage is received in addition to a Social Benefit. According to the Incapacity for Work Insurance Act, the pension is reduced to an amount which, together with the wage, equals 90% of the worker's former wage. Working hours are, theoretically, the same as in open industry, but special arrangements can be made when necessary.

With respect to financing, there is a subsidy system by which the central government assists the municipal authorities. Since the average production of the worker in Social Employment is lower

than in open industry, special provisions have to be made on their behalf. Subsidy is granted in the following costs: (a) 90% of the cost of wages, employee benefits, and transport of workers at non-profit-yielding projects; (b) 75% of the cost related to workers employed at profit-yielding projects and the cost of industrial medical care; (c) 50% of the salaries and employee benefits of the staff and the cost of educational and training activities. A few additional provisions offer the possibility of a higher percentage of subsidy.

Dolnick (1970) observes that most social workshops in the Netherlands cannot be identified by their appearance or name. They are well-designed for industrial purposes and are decorated with original art. A Dutch law requires 0.5% of the cost of the construction of public buildings to be used for decorative painting and sculpture, and about 600 artists are subsidized by the government to do this work on a full-time basis. He states that beyond the fact that the handicapped workers' productivity is about 40% of normal, it is difficult to find any other differences between the social workshop and other factories. The workers are usually members of trade unions and earn at least 95% of the minimum wage for the types of work done, and they may earn up to a 20% bonus for good performance.

Reubens (1970) points out that the Dutch appreciate labor as a condition for social prestige and human happiness and also believe the subsidies are offset by the savings to government from reduced claims on other benefits. The Dutch define Social Employment as a substitute to institutional or home care and indicate that fewer personnel are needed in the work setting than in custodial or home care.

Interestingly, the created jobs in Holland in the early fifties were more along the lines of semi-integrated employment. Open-air projects of the public works character were used for manual workers. A decision was made to favor workshops, however, because open-air projects didn't offer enough variety for training and were considered unsatisfactory for women and retarded youths!

Reubens also notes that certain voluntary agencies in the Netherlands forgo business due to reluctance to submit to government supervision or a desire to depart from the regulations. One shop pays higher wages than stipulated but does well without subsidy because of private contributions and profitable business operations.

The Netherlands has a highly unified organization since all created jobs are administered by a single agency in the Ministry of Social Affairs in Public Health.

Henry Redkey (1977) points out that while the Social Employment activities are carried out by the municipal authorities, funding

is almost 100% national and the central government employs a number of monitors who keep very close watch on possible abuses. He further indicates that it costs Holland about $8,000 per year to keep a person in a Social Employment workshop, whereas it would only cost $5,000 to keep the same person at home. He considers $3,000 an accurate estimate of what it costs to keep a disabled person working at a normal wage and off the welfare programs. Others disagree sharply with this, saying that many of the social service costs, which other citizens are also eligible for, are included in the cost of running the work operation.

Redkey provides this summary of the Netherlands' program: Disabled workers are screened by the Labor Department and all who cannot be placed in private employment are referred to Social Employment which is of three types: industrial workshops, open-air projects, and clerical projects. The first and third do subcontracting with private industry as well as primary manufacturing, and they do office work for public agencies. The open-air projects are all public, mostly in municipal parks. As in normal industry, wages are negotiated with unions. Those whose productivity is below 30% receive 70% of the normal beginning scale for a trial period of one year. If they do not reach 30%, they are referred to day care centers. Equipment is very sophisticated and the buildings are located in industrial parks.

3. West Germany

Redkey (1975) points out in a searing statement that,

> "In Hitler's time the Germans destroyed their handicapped people. Small wonder, then, that in resurgent West Germany there is a strong voluntary effort to provide total services to the handicapped and, not surprisingly, to see to it that rehabilitation facilities paid for out of tax funds are operated by voluntary agencies. It's a case of the burnt child dreading the fire."

He says that West Germany's rehabilitation programs are in ferment. A 1974 law provided for a quota system and gave the Employment Office the authority to organize a countrywide system of sheltered workshops. These are to emphasize management efficiency. Wages are below those in private industry, but there is agitation to waive the employees' 25% social security tax which would make disabled workers' wages almost comparable to those of nondisabled workers.

4. Sweden

Sweden is characterized by Redkey (1975) as a "cradle-to-grave welfare state." The Swedes hold that every disabled person should have a chance to work. Sweden's workshops are models of industrial layout with the best equipment of modern design. Labor unions negotiate contracts and standard wages are paid: some on piecework and some on an hourly basis. Again, there is little enthusiasm for quota laws. A program of job subsidy exists where the government pays 40% of the workers' wages, but the Swedish people are very dissatisfied with its potential for abuse. All sheltered employment and vocational rehabilitation in Sweden are administered by the National Labor Board.

Work evaluation, work adjustment, and the other things we do in transitional workshops are not done in Swedish workshops. They take place in Regional Evaluation Centers which are magnificently equipped and staffed by experts. This leaves the workshop free to concentrate on equipment, efficiency, management-labor relations, and good wages.

Reubens (1970) points out that the Swedish Industrial Rehabilitation Unit (IRU) was modeled after the English innovation to prepare people for work experience. Many IRU's are colocated with workshops as a means of obtaining broader geographic coverage.

5. Denmark

Denmark is also described as a "cradle-to-grave welfare state" by Redkey (1975), but whereas he saw Sweden as taking a "labor market approach" to rehabilitiation, he sees Denmark as taking a "social services approach." All disabled people receive a pension which is granted on three levels, according to severity. Workshops are primarily operated by voluntary agencies, with the exception of a newly organized governmental program for mentally retarded people. Redkey felt the work ethic was very strong in Denmark, and that the pension did not deter from a desire to work in the shops.

6. The Communist Countries

Hampton (1970) toured workshops in Prague, Budapest, Sophia, Moscow, Warsaw, and East Berlin in 1970. He introduces his topic by admitting, "I had for a long time wondered many things about how workshops are operated in countries where the state runs everything." He observes that the small workshops operate on as low a budget as ours and, when subcontract work is used,

"The handicapped workers are paid at piece rates, with an incentive built in, and upon completion of the job, there is a profit for the workshop. There is no difference from workshop practice in our country except for the profit factor and the lack of direct aid from the state."

He describes a small workshop in Budapest which, like most, was established with local government funds. Two four-hour shifts are used as an accommodation. Coupled with the 100 workers in the shop are another 500 in the shop's homebound program. After the initial funds from local government, the shop received no funds from any outside source. However, Hampton states that, ". . . the workshop must maintain a high percentage of handicapped workers and staff members in order to keep its tax privilege." Although the nature of this tax relief is not described, it apparently serves as an important ongoing "subsidy."

Hampton characterizes Prague as having one of the largest workshops in Europe — 1,600 workshop slots plus a large homebound program. Moscow also has a large facility with 1,000 slots. He observes that, "Throughout the trip, I noticed that the profit motive was automatically built in. Nobody said, 'We doing rehabilitation can't make a profit.' Profit is considered a necessary part of the total production in order to meet the needs of handicapped people."

He also refers to a 10% profit made by one workshop and to a 25% profit made by another. I found that hard to comprehend, in view of the English and Dutch contentions that sheltered employment costs more than paying the same individual to stay home, and asked Henry Redkey to help interpret the apparent conflict. In personal correspondence, Redkey indicates that in Poland, at least, the subsidies are substantial and come not only from tax waivers but from less obvious sources.

Redkey is sure that the rehabilitation aspects of the workshop programs are funded from outside sources. The biggest difference, in his opinion, is that in the Socialist system, production is state planned and allocated to shops for the disabled just as with other industries. Even more important, prices are set by the state. With production and prices both on an administered basis, profit margin can be whatever is desired. Another factor is the excellent equipment they have, compared with the pathetically outdated equipment in most of our shops. He closes his interpretation by stating, ". . . Poland has found the answer, given their economic and political system, . . . but we cannot expect to make the same thing work in our different economic and political system."

Hampton notes that the blind seemed to have preferential legislation in all countries visited, but that the "deaf union" is quite strong in a few countries, especially Bulgaria. Their "Silent Industries" has work stations for over 800 deaf and hearing-impaired workers. His final observation is that, "I got the feeling that in these countries workshops are not looked down on as ours often are either by the general public or by individuals within the workshop, who seemed to take great pride . . . ."

a. Poland

Poland may have the most sophisticated segregated employment program in the world. According to Trampczynski (1973), Poland's first Cooperative Societies of the Disabled were established by ex-servicemen after World War I. They were created to ensure that the disabled got an adequate supply of food at prices they could afford. Gradually, many of these consumer cooperatives branched out into labor cooperatives; hence, the rise of shoemakers', saddlers', carpenters', wheelwrights', tailors', and fishermen's cooperatives, as well as cooperative bakeries and workshops producing stationery and toys. Although they did not intend to engage in rehabilitation, they were an indication of solidarity among the disabled.

Initially, the various types of cooperatives — laborer, tenants, etc. — were affiliated with different unions. Since the aims were similar, in 1949 a single, central organization was created. Poland's planned economy, with its emphasis on providing work for all, has opened up a vast field for action for the collective resourcefulness of the disabled. At the time of Trampczynski's report, there were 421 cooperatives employing a total of 224,000 individuals, 171,000 of whom were disabled. The cooperatives of the blind belong to a special union of their own.

Obviously, the primary function of the cooperatives is to carry on business operations based on the labor supplied by the members. Equally important are their social and educational activities. The most obvious feature distinguishing a cooperative of the disabled from ordinary labor cooperatives is the fact that at least 75% of its employees are handicapped. Able-bodied workers are employed to the extent warranted by economic considerations or the need to ensure effective rehabilitation. The economic activities of the cooperatives of the disabled have to be conducted in accord with the principles binding other cooperatives in state enterprises. They do enjoy certain tax relief and privileges to compensate for the higher outlays involved in the employment of severely disabled people. About one-fifth of all those working in the socialized sector of the Polish economy are employed by the cooperatives of the disabled.

A rather large number of the cooperatives' workers do their work at home. They are legally recognized as employees and are eligible for a broad range of social benefits. The tools and machines they need are supplied free, as are their working clothes. In 1975, there were approximately 42,000 people in home work.

The commonest form of business carried on by the cooperatives is production, followed by services and small-scale retail trade. In localities where there are several cooperatives, each deals with a specific line of business and, if possible, they operate one large production plant. In small localities, where there are no more than two such cooperatives, it is recommended that they be of the multi-purpose type.

There are two components to remuneration: direct payment for the work done, and a share in profits, if any. Output standards are established to achieve a rational distribution of production tasks and sensible use of working time. Some employees, however, are paid on time rates, ". . . to reduce the incentive to raise output at the cost of excessive effort or stress." Trampczynski asserts that if wages were paid strictly according to the results of the work, they would not be sufficient to secure adequate living standards. The problem is usually solved by a system of specially reduced output rates, where employees obtain earnings amounting to 85% of those achieved in the same cooperative by other employees in similar occupations in the same number of hours.

Each cooperative has its own rehabilitation team composed of a physician, a psychologist, a social worker, an industrial safety and health instructor, and a representative of the technical staff. Training is mostly on the job. All cooperatives have their own medical services, and the Union of Cooperatives of the Disabled operates sanitariums and rest homes in the mountains and on the coast. Physical exercises are provided during breaks. Summer and winter sport camps and holidays are organized. There is a heavy emphasis on cultural and social activities, with music, drama, poetry groups, song and dance ensembles, tourism, visits to plays and concerts, educational courses, lectures, discussions, and demonstrations. There is also heavy stress on the educational and character-building benefit derived from directly participating in the management of the cooperatives.

Whereas the U. S. and England afforded workshops the right to become the main manufacturer for certain products and services wanted by the government, Poland goes even further. The cooperatives have the right to act as the entire country's main manufacturer of certain products.

Tax relief contributes to the development of vocational rehabilitation and, according to Trampczynski, the profits have made possible a considerable expansion and modernization of the movement's economic capacity. At the time of writing, the cooperatives ran almost 3,000 production plants and service establishments and 3,600 shops and kiosks.

Dolnick (1972) questions whether, "The Polish concept of profit and their definitions of terms are the same as ours." He points out several important factors. Their full employment economy is attained at the cost of a high degree of inefficiency. Available work is distributed to the optimum number of persons which retards the productivity essential to making a profit. England's Remploy has many similarities and, as noted above, operates at a loss. Dolnick also points out that the rehabilitation costs are not included in the profit/loss computations, which explains part of the discrepancy.

Dolnick believes the Polish homebound component has much to offer as a U. S. model, citing not only their experience, but also their sense of responsibility for this population which the U. S. tends to forget. Poland's 42,000 homebound workers make up about 25% of the total cooperatives for the disabled work force. None of the reports related interviews with homebound workers to learn if they agree that home is the best, or only, place for them to work.

A fascinating point made about the Miners Rehabilitation Center in Repty was, "After training and discharge, the worker is provided with an automobile adapted to his needs." No information is provided on whether this practice was pretested in a demonstration which documented the extent to which it leads to improved employability. The American experience cited above (Vash, 1969) suggests it could make a great difference.

b. China

China has had the Redflag Rubber and Hardware Factory since 1958 when it began as the Experimental Factory for the Blind. It now engages persons with varied types and degrees of disability. It is administered by the Civil Affairs Bureau of Peking Municipality. It produces rubber balls, shoe soles, stoppers, locks, and other national market items.

A 1976 news item in *Rehabilitation World* indicates that production equipment is designed for the convenience and safety of disabled workers and that workers with different afflictions cooperate symbiotically on work tasks. There are also a number of nondisabled workers who do the heavier or more complex jobs. The disabled to nondisabled ratio is not stated, but there are a total of 530 workers.

The People's Bus Company sends a special bus to take the disabled workers to and from work. A workers' union organizes recreational activities, and child care facilities are available for workers, with children of disabled workers receiving top priority. There are living quarters for 50 disabled workers and their families a few blocks from the factory.

The article stresses that disabled workers are ". . . encouraged to take on leadership and creative roles." Very different from here, all workers engage in political study as part of their work-day. It also indicates that China is one of the countries which shares the philosophy that it is important for everyone to contribute to the nation's production.

This ends the review of worldwide experience in the area of segregated employment offering accommodation and/or shelter for workers with disabilities. Efforts to integrate and draw conclusions from the material will be deferred until the final chapter, after experience in mainstream employment and the role of industry in work preparation have been presented.

III. MAINSTREAM EMPLOYMENT

This chapter will cover both American experience and experience abroad for disabled workers. It is divided into four sections: American experience with semi-integrated and fully integrated mainstream employment, followed by European and other foreign experience with each of these two levels. As will be seen, Europe reports more and more innovative work at the semi-integrated level and the U. S. reports greater advances at the fully integrated level. Australia, the only other continent from which relevant reports were obtained, offers one of the most progressive programs of all.

The reason the above classification system arises at all is because employers are generally reluctant to hire workers with disabilities into their primary workforce. Therefore, segregated and semi-integrated opportunities are created for them. Chuck Richman of the Association of Rehabilitation Facilities ironically notes, "Society demands that a secondary labor market be created for the disabled. Then it complains about it."

Why don't employers want to hire disabled workers? Greenleigh Associates (1969), in comparing their interviews of rehabilitation agency personnel with those of employers, found an interesting discrepancy. The agency personnel believed that employers rejected disabled workers out of concern about insurance payments and personal reactions to their disabilities. In fact, the employers' overwhelming voiced concern was with having workers who are able to perform the needed tasks. They simply do not expect to find the same quantity and quality of task performance among disabled workers as they do among nondisabled workers.

With respect to opportunities in the public sector, the Greenleigh report makes a damning statement:

> "General observations made during the field research suggested that job opportunities for the handicapped were even more circumscribed in the public than in the private sector. Except for such model programs as the federal programs for hiring the mentally retarded, while state and local governments are becoming increasingly important as employers, their policies on hiring the handicapped are not improving accordingly. For many governments, insurance and pension requirements are obstacles to hiring

the handicapped.* Then, too, many have rigid physical examination requirements which may be quite irrelevant to the demands of the jobs in question. These requirements appear to be based on outdated assumptions about the capacities of the handicapped, and also on the belief that there are some widespread aversions to the handicapped. In addition, some states have not adopted any alternatives to the civil service examinations for those for whom such examinations might impose an insurmountable obstacle."

Then the report cites some exceptions. Maryland, for example, like the Federal Government, permits the VR agency to certify mentally retarded people for certain positions, obviating the need for a qualifying examination. Another State allows visually handicapped Dictaphone typists to be given civil service tests with verbal instructions. However, the benefit of this is mitigated by the fact that a lower salary scale is used for the visually handicapped clerk-typists.

Greenleigh Associates asserts that much more should be done to develop a labor market for the disabled in the public agencies. They point out that this will require a compilation and analysis of the applicable statutes and practices, followed by a concerted campaign to amend public policies. These statements were made in 1969. In 1977, following the signing of the regulations governing the implementation of section 504 of the 1973 Rehabilitation Act, perhaps this is on the verge of gradually coming about.

A. UNITED STATES EXPERIENCE

1. Semi-Integrated Employment

One type of employment which might be labeled "semi-integrated" is referred to frequently in both the American and European literature. That is the integration of people with different types of disabilities or disabled workers with other hard-to-employ workers, such as older or socioeconomically disadvantaged people or those whose work skills have become obsolete because of technological advances. Apparently in Europe there is even greater segregation of disability types in both service and work settings than in the U. S.

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* The reason the public sector is more concerned about retirement pensions and other fringe benefits is that the public sector is generally much more liberal than private industry.

That type of semi-integrated employment is not the concern in this paper. A step toward integrating disabled workers into the mainstream world of work is the focus here. The lowest level of this thrust would be the trend toward locating sheltered workshops in industrial park locations. They are still segregated sheltered workshops, but at least they exist in a larger real work context, and there seems to be a psychological advantage to that for both staff and workers.

a. Business Enterprise Programs

Probably the best-known example of a full-fledged "semi-integrated" employment venture in the United States is the Business Enterprise Program (BEP) made possible through the Federal Randolph-Sheppard Act of 1936, otherwise known as the vending stand program for the blind on Federal and other property. The Act was last amended in 1974 and new regulations became effective this year. This program is semi-integrated in that while the blind worker is not integrated into the same workforce as the other workers in the building, she or he at least comes to work at the same plant, and an opportunity is created for contact between sighted and nonsighted individuals. Once that is present, familiarization and socialization can follow. Then the myths and stereotypes can be broken down.

Because of his long experience with the Blind Enterprise Program, I asked Robert Melody, Chief, Business Development Services, California Department of Rehabilitation, to point out what he considers its most salient features with respect to the topic of semi-integrated employment. Melody observes the new regulations for the 1974 Randolph-Sheppard Amendments give priority to the blind on all Federal and other property defined as locations established through the expenditure of vending stand fees from Federal property locations. As with the Javits-Wagner-O'Day Act, States are encourged to develop mini-Randolph-Sheppard Acts to cover State and local government locations.

He believes the program is a good one which proves that many blind people can be highly successful. Some operators of the larger food service operations in California are making more money than the VR director in their State. He also feels this should be an encouragement for operators to move outside of the program. However, when a State senator proposed this in California in 1969, he was booed down by a group of organized blind people. They apparently don't want to move out of these protected settings and into the competitive world of independent business, however capable they might be.

On the issue of integration into mainstream employment, Melody thinks this was never the intent of the BEP, and the new amendments may actually lead to more segregation and more incentives to

stay in the program than to graduate and move on and out. Moreover, a 1974 task force comprised largely of blind people who are advocates for the blind was vehemently opposed to diversification of the BEP, fearing it would "weaken the program." It would appear that the BEP will remain on the border between segregation and semi-integration for the foreseeable future.

b. Business Development Section

Similar in intent to the BEP for the blind is the Business Development Section (BDS) of the California State Department of Rehabilitation, under the direction of Robert Melody. The mission of this newly created Section is to develop self-employment opportunities for severely disabled individuals. Melody's experience in the BEP for the blind is, of course, invaluable in developing this smaller scale but much more diversified transitional self-employment program for severely disabled people with disabilities other than blindness.

The Section's first major accomplishment is to have established three retail shops in the Los Angeles County Hall of Administration shopping mall. Here, a client can operate one of these businesses for three years and learn and save toward a business of his own in the private sector. BDS will continue to offer supervision if it is wanted. One business is a floral shop, one is a drycleaning drop station, and one is a services center for paying utility bills, Xeroxing, purchasing bus tickets, postal services, and a theater ticket agency.

Melody indicates they do not intend to get into the "numbers game" as he feels has happened with the vending stand locations for blind clients. He believes that just 15 to 20 stations throughout the State are needed because of their transitional character. Unlike the BEP, the BDS will pay rent in all locations.

The Section also provides consultation to counselors, does feasibility studies and market research, and locates sources of funding, plus providing followup for up to 1½ years post-"26 closure." Melody notes that BDS is usually involved initially to ensure feasibility before a counselor makes a commitment. One of the biggest needs, he says, is for counselors to learn how to develop a loan package. The Small Business Administration has "Handicapped Assistance Loans" which require 20% equity before they will lend the other 80%. He indicates that in the past, the SBA has systematically turned down counselors' loan packages because they were not adequately prepared.

c. Enclaves

Attempts to locate experience with enclaves in the U. S. were not very successful. They are being tried in several countries in Europe, however. An enclave is a specified part of a worksite, usually a factory, which is set aside for workers with disabilities. Jobs and worksites may be modified as needed, and special hiring, firing, and supervisory practices may be maintained. These European efforts will be described in more detail below.

Apparently one did exist at Hughes Aircraft in California from the time of World War II until the late 1950's when its progenitor, Justin Johnson, died. Disabled workers were needed in the aircraft industry during the war because the abled-bodied men were off fighting. By the late fifties, this was no longer true, and without the guidance of a committed individual, the program did not survive. It was designed to be transitional — a point of entry from which enclave workers would eventually move into the regular factory, thus creating a vacancy for another disabled worker in the enclave.

A model closely resembling the enclave approach is group placement, which has been used primarily with patients with mental — emotional — disabilities. Because the only known examples are transitional in nature, with the intent of providing a means for the emotionally disabled worker to develop or redevelop appropriate work habits and skills in clearly rehabilitation service programs, not just employment, they will be described in the next chapter on the role of industry in work preparation.

d. The Work Crew

The work crew is a final approach which might be labeled semi-integration. This is being tried in many places both in the U. S. and abroad, usually for severely retarded people, in the janitorial and groundskeeping areas.

The Exceptional Children's Foundation in Los Angeles is one of many organizations serving retarded people who are training housecleaning crews. Hansen (1969) describes a project in Folsom, California, where six trainable retarded youth worked as a cleanup crew at the Folsom Dam recreational area. The work is primarily lawn work, ditch cleaning, weed pulling, brush removal, and general gardening. The tools and equipment are purchased jointly by the State Department of Rehabilitation and the local School District. From the experience, Hansen concludes that these youth can do work under highly supervised conditions, and that a healthy competition is engendered. He believes the crew idea could profitably be explored in

the American economy because of the increasing usage of recreation areas and the tremendous need for cleanup.

2. Fully Integrated Employment

Unquestionably, the most important issues associated with accommodated, mainstream employment are the twin phenomena of affirmative action programs for workers with disabilities, and the inclusion of disabled people as a protected population under fair employment practice laws. Sections 503 and 504 of the 1973 Rehabilitation Act and the various States' positions on protecting physically and/or mentally disabled people from unfair employment practices, were described in the introduction.

In addition, section 501 of the 1973 Rehabilitation Act requires that all agencies of the Executive Branch of the Federal Government submit annual affirmative action plans for the hiring, placement, and advancement of handicapped individuals to the U. S. Civil Service Commission. This was expanded by the 1974 Vietnam Era Veterans Readjustment Assistance Act, which requires that each agency provide a separate specification for the employment of disabled veterans.

a. The U. S. Civil Service Commission

The U. S. Civil Service Commission must annually report on progress to Congress. The second such annual report (1975) indicates that historically particular emphasis was placed on utilizing disabled persons as a manpower resource in the early 1940's, during the war. In 1957, a system was established wherein coordinators were designated in all Federal installations with appointing authority to ensure that counseling and placement assistance were offered to disabled applicants. In the 1960's, the Office of Selective Placement Programs was established, and its 10 regional and 65 area offices now work with Federal and other public and private agencies concerned with employment of disabled persons.

Accommodation and/or shelter can take many forms in mainstream employment, and can occur at many steps along the path of getting, doing, and keeping a job. One of the earliest and greatest barriers to many people with disabilities getting a job is the examination process, especially in Civil Service. If you can't take the written examination, you can't even be considered a candidate for the job, unless someone is willing to make accommodations in the examination procedure or waive it altogether. In 1964, the latter step was taken when special appointing authorities were established outside of the

ordinary competitive structure. This reflected recognition of the fact that some severely physically and mentally disabled people can perform well in specific jobs even though they cannot compete well in the usual selection process.

Here are some of the specific accomplishments reported on with respect to competitive examining procedures:

- The test for blind competitors is available in large print, braille, and on tape.
- The use of an abacus or arithmetic-type slate is granted.
- The test for deaf competitors emphasizes clarity of expression.
- The use of interpreters in interpreting instructions is encouraged.
- Test content inappropriate to blind or deaf individuals is deleted.

One of the solid achievements reported by various Federal agencies was mobility barrier identification, and in some cases, removal. Most other "achievements" involved bureaucratic tasks like establishing liaisons and reporting systems. The 1975 report singled out one serious problem area: the allotment of resources to do the job, including appropriate staff. Too many selective placement coordinators have little interest in the program, and their status is considered "other duties as assigned."

Earlier, of course, the Federal program wherein written examinations were waived for mentally retarded applicants for certain job classes had proved to be a highly successful and well-utilized opportunity. An area which still needs work is written examination procedures for people with upper extremity impairments or dyslexia and who simply cannot record their answers intelligibly.

b. A Wisconsin Project

A Wisconsin project described by Lobes (1976) sought to effect the placement of nearly 100 mentally retarded or restored individuals with that State's Civil Service system, and to answer several research questions. It was called Project Skill, and its core concerns were:

- Is competitive employment more attainable when training and work adjustment are part of an employer's system?

- Can Civil Service respond to the needs of less severe mentally retarded and emotionally disturbed people?

- Is rehabilitation enhanced when the client is trained for a specific job in a regular work setting and receiving the same pay and privileges as other workers?

Wisconsin reports that the first difficult task was demythologizing and destereotyping disabled people in order to get job slot commitments. Only 3 out of 12 departments with appropriate positions agreed to participate. The report indicates that it is too early to say whether the project is a success and ends by stating that the most crucial issue is the securing of job commitments.

c. California

A California policy reflects a less formal approach which focuses upon more severely disabled people: primarily those with physical limitations. An administrative directive was issued by the Director of the Department of Rehabilitation in 1975 which stated, in essence, that the Department would provide whatever equipment and services were needed for an employee to perform the job function, including those required by employees with various handicaps. That might include braille writers, Opticons, special wheelchairs, transportation equipment, drivers, readers, attendants, and interpreters. The equipment remains the property of the State and is to be used only on State business. The employee provides his or her own transportation to and from work and assistive devices which are not solely work related (*e.g.*, prosthesis, wheelchairs, glasses). The Department also makes whatever alterations are needed in the work environment, including mobility barrier removal and worksite modifications.

All of these adjustments constitute accommodations, not shelter. That is, they allow the worker with a disability to meet performance standards. They do not relax the standards. The Department has many severely disabled staff members, ranging from those at the clerk-typist level to the Director. A number of these might be still on SSI at an annual cost of $15,000 or more if they were not working for an organization which is willing to provide the supports necessary to permit them to work. It is hard to imagine that the accommodation costs could so overbalance the value of the work performed that the cost of such a work slot could exceed that of maintaining the person on $15,000 per year welfare as the above-reported English and Dutch experiences might suggest.

d. Welfare Tax Credit

The welfare tax credit is a potentially promising phenomenon that has been little explored in rehabilitation. Wyn Cochran, Labor and Industrial Relations Specialist with the California Department of Rehabilitation, has had a great deal of experience in applying the WIN tax credit program to disabled clients who are also WIN eligible. He simplifies the incentive issue in an interview:

> "There are only tax incentives or cash incentives to offer an employer. Government contracts are not liked by employers because of the paperwork. They feel that clerks are running the government and too many decisions are made at the clerical level. This has been found in both the MDTA and CETA programs. Industries that accept such contracts are doing it not because they really care about the incentive, but because they are caught up in peer pressure to do what is right."

On the welfare tax credit, such as the WIN tax credit, if the employer hires a WIN registrant or a WIN eligible person, and retains that person for 180 days of employment, or if he is fired for cause, then the employer is forgiven up to 20% of the individual's wages for the first 12 months of employment from the taxes the employer owes. Cochran indicates there has been no followup on the effects or effectiveness of this program in the past, and no selling of the concept. He believes a similar tax credit for SSI recipients and other disabled persons should be tried, but to work, it must be "advertised."

e. Industrial Injuries

So far, the focus has been upon *getting* disabled workers into mainstream employment. The issue of *keeping* disabled workers in mainstream employment is equally important, since so many disabling conditions occur after the person becomes occupationally established. Gozali and Killian (1972) describe a project with industry in which rehabilitation counselors work with alcoholic employees to actually interfere with the process of worsening alcoholism. This is done through identifying and modifying work-related stresses which can be changed.

Of course, there are many more instances in which the disablement of a worker cannot be prevented; and when it occurs as a result of work-related activity, the problems of "industrial injury" and "workers' compensation" are opened up. A State of California

report (1970) presented the results of a statistical study of 3,635 workers injured in California during a 6 months' period. Only those with a permanent residual disability which prevented them from returning to their old jobs were studied. A key finding was that over half the workers were returning to their original employer in new or modified positions, indicating that both insurance carriers and employers engage in significant voluntary rehabilitation efforts.

Most of these, of course, involve fairly minor injuries. I attempted to locate a sizable sampling of cases involving severe disabilities resulting from industrial injuries followed by significantly accommodated reemployment by the same firm. The search was only a little more successful than the quest for the Holy Grail. Here is an example from the tiny sampling I found: Mammoth Mountain Ski Corporation has a paraplegic safety director, a former patroller who was caught in an avalanche. They provide him a van and modified his home, and he lives there year-round as an overseer. My informant tells me the insurance carrier has not publicized this case because the resort has cost them so much they have canceled their policy.

f. Special Wage Certification

For people who cannot produce up to a given standard, even on low-level jobs and regardless of the accommodations made, there currently exists a mechanism for paying less than the minimum wage. Special minimum wage certification may be applied for by employers in regular industry just as it can be by sheltered workshops. The process is very seldom used, however, and two major reasons are given. First, great fears are expressed by many rehabilitation people that the mechanism will be abused and workers with disabilities will be exploited for the opportunity to pay them less. This seems a needless fear in view of the other reason: few employers have wanted to use it. The employer is forced to submit the application for the certification. The rehabilitation worker cannot assume this burden. As a result, both worker and employer simply refuse to become involved.

B. EXPERIENCE ABROAD

1. Semi-Integrated Employment

The European approach which has captured the most attention from the U. S. is the *enclave*. Unlike the one which existed at Hughes Aircraft in the 1940's and 1950's, those in Denmark and Great Britain tend not to be transitional. Employment, not transition to an ordinary work setting, is the goal. It is not clear whether the difference exists in facts or rhetorical style, but the literature reflects far

less stress on the European enclave as a steppingstone than is true for the group placement, or enclave, approaches used in this country (see Chapter IV).

One European writer decries the use of the term "enclave," pointing out that, strictly viewed, it means "an isolated area surrounded by hostile territory." Somehow, this is not the connotation when used in the present context. The term has caught on, and it will probably continue to be used. Before long, the altered meaning may show up in the dictionary.

a. England

England's Department of Employment uses the term to denote a group of severely disabled people working together under special supervision in an otherwise ordinary and undifferentiated working environment. The Department's 1973 report on sheltered employment indicates that one of the early efforts was in 1960 in the city of Leeds. A dozen people liable to epileptic seizures worked under the supervision of a foreman trained to deal with any seizures that might occur. They performed the full range of tasks associated with the care of public parks and gardens. The Department of Employment subsidized the arrangement through a capitation grant of 75% of the cost of adjusting wages to full union rates, plus administrative costs, including the extra cost of employing a specially trained foreman. Similar schemes had spread to at least seven other communities at the time of writing in 1973.

Other British enclave systems have aimed at assisting groups of workers with disabilities to work under ordinary industrial conditions. In 1963, the Industrial Therapy Organization (ITO) made arrangements for ten ex-mental hospital patients to work with local firms. Before allocation to an enclave, workers try out in ITO workshops and may return if work in the enclave ends. The ITO acts as the employer in every respect. The firms measure and pay the ITO for the work performed. From this, ITO deducts the cost of nursing supervision and administration. That sum is reimbursed under the Department of Employment's scheme of grants.

The 1973 report analyzes the problems associated with direct subsidy in employment, but states unequivocally that these objections do not apply to the enclaves, in which workers are employed by an independent workshop which, in turn, is paid by the firm for all the work done. The report states that the enclave system is a logical extension of the subcontract work used in workshops. Moreover, the open-air enclave is considered particularly conducive to rehabilitation and the per capita costs are much less than in sheltered factories. It is also pointed out that enclaves could be

established within easy travel distance of most severely disabled people. Local authority open-air enclaves appear to be spreading, and whereas the scope for factory enclaves is greater, less progress has been made.

The British recognize that essentially all sheltered work opportunities in England are manual work. In an effort to correct this, they plan to pursue the Swedish model of archives work for severely disabled people for whom clerical/administrative job tasks are appropriate. The Swedish archivist projects will be described below.

An article in *Lancet* (1975) states unequivocally that, "The Department of Employment has now accepted that groups working under supervision in open industry are superior to sheltered workshops in the management and re-training of the disabled." The author describes such a program for former mental patients and claims that, "Year by year, the cost per place in sheltered groups has been consistently much lower than in the sheltered workshops. In sheltered groups, all costs other than psychiatric supervision and administration costs are carried by industry."

b. Australia

McLelland (1975) reports that Australia boasts at least one enclave, which he visited. This one encourages "flow through" of disabled workers into the main plant; occasionally a worker is transferred to a regular job.

c. Sweden

Sweden's archivist program has captured the interest of many writers. This program puts disabled and other hard-to-place workers in public institutions such as museums. It is a mechanism for providing employment for disabled people with high-level skills, and approximately 12,000 people are currently so employed. Redkey (1975) believes this type of program could be readily adapted to the U. S. The Swedish Government pays the full cost of these white collar projects if they are initiated by branches of the central government. If initiated by the municipalities, one-third of the costs are subsidized, except in extraordinary cases of "areas with high and persistent unemployment and a diminishing number of inhabitants."

According to Reubens (1970),

> "The archives work evolved from Special Public Works jobs for unemployed professional and technical workers. These opportunities were later opened up to workers with disabilities, refugees with little knowledge of the Swedish

language, and musicians. Both the Swedish and Dutch have a great concern for artists, compared with the lack of concern found in the U. S. The archive works are limited to the public and non-profit sectors, although private enterprise could conceivably be tapped for contracts. Some typical sites for archives work are: museums, government offices, schools and universities, hospitals, libraries and laboratories."

Since the work has been largely generated by the central government, the work centers around Stockholm. Reubens concludes that, "In Sweden and elsewhere it may be anticipated that handicapped white collar and professional workers will constitute an increasing proportion of all on created jobs for the handicapped."

d. Denmark

In Denmark, while enclave workers have separate space, they are on the factory payroll. In both Denmark and Sweden, there may also be a State subsidy. Redkey (1975) indicates that in the Danish enclaves there is no standard method for determining wages and prices. Everything is left to negotiation. He also observes that efforts to integrate mentally retarded workers in this fashion have not enjoyed the success experienced with other disability groups.

e. The Netherlands

In the Netherlands, under the Social Employment program, the employment office has the task of keeping a lookout for opportunities in open industry in its efforts to find or create suitable work. Included among the 44,000 workers covered by the Social Employment Act are 4,300 white collar workers and 8,000 workers in open-air projects (Dolnick, 1970). It is not clear what proportion of these are disabled to a degree we would consider substantial.

f. Israel

The Israelis have found that the work crew approach can be successful for mentally retarded people. One project there (*SRS Abstracts*, 1970) attempted to "motivate severely retarded Israeli adolescents and young adults through the technique of group work." Employment was found in groves, parks, and agricultural areas still using manual labor for four groups of 10 young people. Some of the findings were that all groups showed increasing productivity, friction with employers or other workers was minimal, and the prospects for expansion to urban parks looked good.

2. *Fully Integrated Employment*

a. Australia

Australia offers a most innovative and far-reaching example of fully integrated, accommodated, and, perhaps, sheltered employment in Centre Industries in Sydney. It was established in 1961 to provide real, not token, employment for cerebral palsied workers in competition with able-bodied workers in open industry. Jonas (1976) claims that, "No favors or preferences are given the more than 250 severely handicapped trainees who work alongside 600 able-bodied workers, use the same machines and are paid the same piece work rates."

The factory is a prime manufacturer of telecommunications equipment and has not only been successfully self-supporting, but it has contributed significantly to the support of the Spastic Centre for Children. Centre Industries receives no preferential contracts from the government and subsidization is limited to building expansion and some costs of training and transportation.

Jonas has attempted to replicate the model in Kansas and appears to have done so with some success. Center Industries in Wichita does subcontract work in a variety of areas, including Kansas State license plates, and has adjacent housing facilities and vans for transporting workers to and from the job. The ratio of disabled to nondisabled workers almost reverses the Sydney Centre, however; 65% are disabled in Wichita, compared with 30% in Sydney. Thus, the American version might fit better under the semi-integrated employment classification.

Worthy of note on funding is the fact that the Kansas State Legislature provided an $85,000 grant to establish the facility in 1973. An additional $1,000,000 in grants came from more traditional sources, such as vocational rehabilitation and the Small Business Administration.

Jonas points out that the biggest difference of all is that in Sydney, they believe the disabled workers are already in open industry so there is no point in stressing placement. In Wichita, the hope and expectation is for graduation from what is considered a sheltered work environment to ordinary industry.

Thus, we see the usual American stress on services in conjunction with created work opportunities. A more faithful replication of the Sydney model, the pure and simple creation of work opportunities in an integrated environment, is still to be tried in this country.

b. European Countries

European countries generally place very little stress on moving disabled workers out of the segregated or semi-integrated settings created for them and into the mainstream world of work. Dolnick (1970) indicates, for example, that in the Netherlands ". . . no particular effort is made to provide placement services . . . into industry. The initiative is left up to each worker." However, *the Netherlands*, like England, Sweden, and other European countries, has a quota system wherein all industrial firms employing more than 25 must hire at least 2% disabled workers. There is essentially universal agreement among all writers and all countries which have a quota system. *It doesn't work.* It is seldom adhered to and lack of adherence is seldom followed by negative sanctions. When a fine is levied, it is simply paid and tolerated as a cost of doing business. Quota systems have not brought more disabled workers into mainstream jobs.

It seems that the less sophisticated the segregated and semi-integrated work facilities and job opportunities, the greater the stress upon placement in mainstream industry. This makes sense. When you "solve the problem" in one way, there is less pressure to solve it at other levels. Generally, European countries have much more sophisticated programs at the segregated and semi-integrated levels than we do, with the Communist countries ahead on segregated solutions and non-Communist countries ahead on semi-integrated solutions. The U. S., lagging behind in both areas, places its emphasis on ultimate competitive mainstream employment.

Sweden, however, is one European country with an open industry placement emphasis which has caught worldwide attention. The "Swedish Adjustment Team" is described by Redkey (1975) as a new, promising concept. Each firm has a team comprising an employer representative, an employment office representative, and a representative of the workers' council at that plant. Their job, in basic terms, is to find jobs in industry for disabled workers. Redkey indicates they are in operation at 4,000 plants in Sweden, and rely more on good communication and education than legal sanctions. He points out that there is a last resort if this type of method fails. The government can require an employer to hire only from among those referred by the employment office if a good faith effort is not shown. It is not entirely clear, but it seems these heavy guns are seldom brought out.

Sweden has had pioneering experience with respect to wage subsidies, and many observers conclude it may be best not to try it. Redkey (1977) puts the problem very simply. The scheme is plagued with possibilities for abuse and the necessity of monitoring and investigating disability. England's Piercy Committee (Department of Employment, 1973) considered,

". . . a disability, instead of being regarded as a handicap to be overcome in the right job, would tend to be looked upon as qualifying for a special financial consideration. It would act as a constant suggestion to the disabled that they were less capable than their fellow workers . . . subsidies would suggest to employer . . . that the employment of disabled people constituted a financial burden for employers . . . other workers might regard subsidized disabled workers as a form of cheap labor . . . the possibility of escalation would indeed be very real . . . it would be hard to define the category of disabled people who should benefit from subsidies and . . . there would be pressure to extend the arrangement to other disabled workers . . . and to other groups of disadvantaged people. Subsidies could in this way become immensely expensive."

Again, synthesis of this material will be deferred until the third component of this paper, the role of industry in preparing disabled workers for employment, has been reviewed.

IV. THE ROLE OF INDUSTRY IN WORK PREPARATION

Industry has long participated in the work preparation of individuals, able-bodied as well as handicapped. Apprenticeship programs in the various trades are a prime example but, until very recently, have been the exclusive province of the nondisabled. On-the-job training has been used fairly extensively by vocational rehabilitation agencies, and it is, in a sense, an informal apprenticeship approach to job skill learning. The emphasis is usually on job skills – how to *do* a job – rather than on job search – how to *get* a job – or work adjustment – how to *keep* a job or *advance* in a job.

On-the-job training (OJT) is typically relied upon in the less urban areas where few trade schools are available. At least one State has found that this tends to be associated with more favorable placement statistics than in the areas rich in trade schools. This relationship suggests that being forced to use OJT is good for placement rates, and one can even speculate as to why. It is a relatively unthreatening way for counselor and employer to develop a working relationship. Once the relationship is formed, it has some history and stability when it needs to be used for effecting a placement later on. However, there are many other factors which might account for this difference in placement rates, and the above is only one possibility.

Because on-the-job training has been well-documented, this chapter will not reiterate that material. Instead, it will focus upon emerging efforts to use industry for the kinds of functions sheltered workshops have provided in the past; namely, work evaluation, work adjustment, and work experience.

Workshops have never been a primary resource for learning job skills. Trade schools, colleges, and industry have typically been the major resources for disabled as well as nondisabled people. But the "workshop without walls" (WWW) concept reflects the growing awareness that a more realistic job of work adjustment can often be accomplished in a real industrial setting than in a sheltered workshop, and that involving industry directly in these types of rehabilitation services may expedite the movement of disabled workers into mainstream employment.

This chapter will describe a selection of such efforts, as well as certain innovative, hopeful new directions in on-the-job training. All material reported here is from the U. S. No comparable direction was found in the foreign literature.

A. WORKSHOPS WITHOUT WALLS (WWW)

Workshops Without Walls (WWW) are gaining favor rapidly. Michael Brickey (1974), writing on normalization and behavioral modification in workshops, states unequivocally that for best results, "Facilities should be 'workshops without walls.' That is, most of their job stations should be in community industries and businesses."

He points out that the idea is not a new one, except, perhaps, to rehabilitation. Special education programs have utilized the concept for years. Brickey believes a major factor in the value of the approach is that, "Having work stations in industry makes the job stations even more realistic and the transition easier."

A Research and Demonstration Brief (U. S. DHEW, 1968) describes the way in which actual work experience is used as part of the school curriculum of adolescent retarded people. In the particular project reported on, there were five phases: general evaluation and vocational adjustment in the workshops; jobsite evaluation and vocational adjustment in the community; specific job skill training; job placement and tryout; and employment and followup. Although over half were reported to have settled successfully in community employment, no information was given as to what types of industries and firms were involved.

Some writers speak of open-air projects as workshops without walls and, of course, this is a very reasonable and literal use of the term. The open-air projects described earlier were seen by this writer as primarily job opportunities, not work preparation programs. Ferguson (1968), however, describes an industrial-agricultural WWW approach to evaluation and training for retarded and brain-injured youth. Temporary placements in the agricultural as well as industrial community were used for what is called "on-the-job evaluation." He stresses the fact that maturing experiences are needed in the development of what he calls the auto-critical facility.

This is also true with respect to clients who have physical rather than mental disabilities. An early WWW program developed out of need at Rancho Los Amigos Hospital in Santa Fe Springs, California, in the late 1960's and early 1970's.

For years, the hospital had a workshop which engaged in the use of workshop-related rehabilitation services for physically disabled inpatients and outpatients. As other hospitals became more proficient in handling paraplegics and other less disabled persons, Rancho came more and more to inherit the quadriplegics and other more

severely disabled persons. The relevance of the job shop type of work in the workshop shrank to fit fewer patients. Something had to be done to get more usable job slots for the more severely disabled patients.

The first step was taken right at home. The counselor, clerical, social worker, contract procurement specialist, and administrative assistant functions in the workshop itself became potential "trainee" slots. Then the rest of the Vocational Services Department opened up slots: research assistant, more clerical slots, assistant to the child patients' Work Exploration Center supervisor, and so forth. Next came the rest of the hospital. Work evaluation, adjustment, training, and experience slots were created in more than a dozen different departments within the hospital, from Landscaping to Pathology. Still, there were not enough slots and the experience was not sufficiently unsheltered to provide a realistic transition to actual job demands.

The City of Santa Fe Springs helped solve the problem. This is an industrial community which happens to have exceedingly humanistic leadership. The next step, which created a full-fledged workshop without walls in mainstream employment, was the establishment of the City of Santa Fe Springs Work Experience Program. It is hoped that by the time clients graduate from hospital-based work stations to City of Santa Fe Springs-based work stations, most of the rough edges will have been smoothed off their work behavior and the primary tasks left will be on-the-job training and work experience.

One of the most positive features of the program is that no preordained "trainee slots" are created to fit people into. The trainee comes in with a list of needs, and the counselor, client, and designated SFS City staff person develop the most appropriate job slot they can create to meet those needs!

Although the program began at a rehabilitation hospital, because of its broader applicability, it has since become a joint project between the City of Santa Fe Springs and the State Vocational Rehabilitation agency.

The program has been very successful. Thirty-five disabled people have completed three to six-month traineeships and nearly all have subsequently been placed in employment. Santa Fe Springs is a small city with only 200 city jobs and therefore cannot absorb many trainees into its own ranks. However, even the mayor and city manager have worked hard to effect placements among their industrial friends and colleagues. As a final note on the topic of creeping encroachments, the Santa Fe Springs Chamber of Commerce will now take one trainee at a time. Tomorrow, the world.

B. PROJECTS WITH INDUSTRY (PWI)

The Projects With Industry (PWI), according to Brubeck (1974), are a grand scale, national effort to accomplish much the same thing. Funded by the Rehabilitation Services Administration, the PWI works through the State VR agency and with community resources toward two main aims: high-quality training and job placement. Brubeck points out that from the disabled person's viewpoint, the PWI opens up job and training opportunities from unskilled labor to highly skilled professional work. From industry's viewpoint, there is an opportunity to get an employee with demonstrated ability. Many projects offer evaluation and work adjustment as well as specific job training.

Some examples of the first dozen PWI's funded are:

- International Rehabilitation Associates (IRA), a profit-making corporation supplying rehabilitation services to insurance carriers, conducts a placement program for severely disabled persons who have insurance claims. One method is to develop a nationwide "bank" of potential employers of disabled workers.

- A PWI being handled by the Arkansas Enterprises for the Blind, Inc., is training clients as information specialists for the U. S. Civil Service Commission.

- In Florida, the Jacksonville Restaurant Association is sponsoring a PWI to fill a serious personnel shortage in such jobs as waiters, waitresses, cooks, cook helpers, dishwashers, motel maids, and forklift operators.

- The banking training at Human Resources Center was initially funded as a PWI.

Fountain House, a facility in New York, has done pioneering work in this country in the use of group placements for people with mental (*i.e.*, emotional) disabilities. This work was initially funded as a PWI. The model is essentially the same as the British model described in Chapter III. In a personal communication, the administrator, John Beard, indicates that although Fountain House guarantees the employer that the work will get done — meaning that if the patients don't do it, the staff will — they have never yet had to induct staff to complete a job.

Although not with PWI funds, the Veterans' Administration is conducting a similar program in Brockton, Massachusetts. Walker

(1969) describes the Community Hospital Industrial Rehabilitation Placement (CHIRP) program which also appears to be a highly successful transitional enclave. Again, as in the British Industrial Therapy Organization model, if the patient cannot adjust to the industrial milieu, she or he may return to a hospital-based work setting.

Among the best known of the PWI's are those with the International Business Machines Corporation. IBM is surveying five areas served by specific rehabilitation centers to determine if there is enough business to support homebound equipment. IBM is careful to locate jobs for people before training them.

Dean Phillips relates that Goodwill Industries of America (GIA) now has six PWI's funded by RSA. They are located in New Haven, Baltimore, South Bend, Tacoma, San Jose, and Miami. An executive loaned from IBM oversees the computer programming training for home-based individuals. Describing the New Haven project as a model, Phillips indicates that 15 top employer executives provide the governing committee. They advise the workshop on the jobs in the community, the types of training needed, what jobs are becoming obsolete, if many tourists come to the city and, if so, whether they need food service, groundskeeping, etc. They form subcommittees of local executives to plan the training, in conjunction with GIA, for their own industries. There might be other subcommittees for lighting, electronics, etc. The grants pay for staff support to these voluntary committees.

Phillips believes this project is working partly because today's affirmative action climate is ready for it. Labor people must be convinced the PWI's will not take jobs from their members, either by taking the jobs out of the industries they have organized or by bringing nonunion workers in. He believes the communication and cooperation with union people in these projects has been good.

Phillips observes that the PWI placement rate has been high because of the fluidity between the workshop and mainstream industry. This is an extremely important point, and one of the reasons for including this chapter on the role of industry in work preparation in this report.

In a new and unusual PWI, the City of Los Angeles is defined as an industry. The project involves the Mayor's Office, the Los Angeles Community College District, and the State VR agency. The purpose, according to the proposal (City of Los Angeles, 1976), is to ". . . increase employment opportunities for the disabled by creating a City on-the-job training program and undertaking job development efforts throughout the community." CETA Title Three moneys are used to cover the hourly wage of $4.00.

The project is still in its first year of operation but experience to date shows that some benefits have already been derived, according to Noreen Stypenski, Project Coordinator.

- Thirty-seven disabled people have been placed in on-the-job training slots.

- The City is developing a small model program designed to place and train mentally retarded people in City Civil Service jobs.

- A formal procedure for conducting job audits has been established. In the past, applicants were tested for a broad classification of jobs rather than a particular position. If they could not meet the requirements for the entire class, they were disqualified. Now, through use of a new Job Restructuring and Analysis Form, specific positions within classes are audited to determine the physical requirements and whether a disabled applicant can meet them.

- Sign language instruction is being offered to supervisors of five newly appointed deaf program participants in the Data Service Bureau.

- Worksite accommodations have been made for disabled trainees in the Central Communications Division of the Police Department, including enlarging work areas, adjusting equipment, and rearranging furniture.

- Approximately 400 individuals have been recruited for the OJT program through contracts with schools and rehabilitation agencies.

- Awareness training has been presented to the supervisors of disabled trainees.

- Written individualized development plans are being developed on all program participants.

- Ineligible disabled applicants are informed of other Civil Service jobs for which they may qualify. Notification of Examination cards are completed for each class for which they qualify so that they are automatically notified when those examinations are open for filing.

A PWI which is currently in the planning stages is to be sponsored by the AFL-CIO. Bringing organized labor into this network is a highly promising turn of events. The AFL-CIO has a Human Services Branch headquartered in Washington, D. C., which has worked with public offender and disadvantaged populations in the past, but no disabled. This project will begin to fill that gap and will be located in four cities at the beginning.

A less formal approach, which also shows that the bars keeping disabled people out of union jobs are beginning to break down, is the Columbia Basin Jobs Project (Big Bend Community College, 1976). The purpose of the project is to write curriculum elements that will provide developmentally disabled trainees with the interpersonal and relations-to-authority behavioral repertoires they need to succeed on the job. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters is to enroll the graduates of the program as union members. It is too early for information on the effects and outcomes of the program.

Riscalla (1974) describes on-the-job training programs as an extremely important alternative to workshops in an article suggestively titled, "Could Workshops Become Obsolete?" After learning about the exciting new things being tried and accomplished within the workshop without walls framework, that question is a powerful one. We will return to it in the final chapter.

V. REFLECTIONS ON THE FUTURE

It has been my observation that it is rare to hear a consumer bring up the issue of sheltered workshops during planning and consumer input conferences. It is usually workshop directors and other workshop staff who attend these meetings as consumer advocates who raise the topic and stress that there are urgent needs.

Once the topic is open, the consumers may have some things to say, possibly critical, and may agree that some needs exist which should be tended to. When the topic can be changed without discourtesy to sincerely concerned workshop people, it usually is — and to something of less peripheral concern to the consumers. Supplemental Security Income (SSI) disincentives and architectural barriers are very likely topics. If the new topic is employment, it will almost surely be mainstream, not segregated. The rehabilitation services which go on in workshops go largely unrecognized as such.

Nonetheless, there appears to be good consensus among both American and European writers that there will always be a group of disabled workers whose handicaps to job functioning are so severe that they cannot exceed 30% productivity by ordinary standards. I don't know just how this relates to the old management truism that the average worker is about 45% productive. In any event, there is a "low group" which definitely needs shelter, not just accommodation. Whether they also need segregation is another matter.

This chapter will be devoted to a recapitulation of some of the major issues discussed in chapters II, III, and IV, coupled with a selection of philosophical statements, futuristic predictions, conclusions, and suggestions for future action which might be worth pursuing.

A. RECAPITULATION OF SOME OF THE MAJOR ISSUES

1. Unionization

Unionization of workshop workers seems to be taken for granted on the European Continent. Here, however, the topic has power to strike fear into the hearts of workshop administrators and other concerned individuals. They reason that if the client's average productivity is significantly less than the prevailing wage and yet they are forced to pay it, then it will only be a matter of time before

their workshop becomes the *former* only-game-in-town for a number of severely disabled people. Moreover, programs which employ other high-risk employees, such as ex-public offenders, will simply stop doing so if they are forced to pay them the same as they would pay a standard-risk hire. The goose may not be laying golden eggs now, but even the tarnished silver ones would disappear.

Greenleigh Associates (1975) point out that a problem inherent in any proposal to simulate realistic, industrial operations in sheltered workshops is potential conflict with organized labor. Except for a few JWOD-related skirmishes, labor is not particularly interested in the low-level types of work and small total capacity of most sheltered workshops. However, if they are upgraded in some of the ways proposed, then they would be competing for work which might otherwise provide jobs for the regular labor force. Thus, wages will probably have to be subsidized to competitive rather than minimum wage levels, they predict.

I asked Dean Phillips for his opinions on the subject. He first indicated that he does not believe that unionization of workshop personnel necessarily rings the death knell for workshops. He cited one Goodwill installation which had problems with efforts to unionize truck drivers, helpers, and dock workers. They got a labor lawyer who found out that the union wanted out: it did not want to represent the workers because there were too few of them. The union just wanted a grievance procedure for them. When this was worked out, the problem was solved. On this point, Phillips reiterated the old maxim that unions don't organize, management does — through insensitivity.

Most Goodwill boards of directors have at least one very high-ranking union representative, and Phillips feels it is a great mistake for this to be overlooked. This person will be able to communicate with other union people who might want to organize their employees, in order to explain the reasons for discrepancies from ordinary industrial practice, as no nonunion person could. He points out that the unions know that rehabilitation is needed for disabled people because they have members who become disabled and they have no mechanism for providing it. The workshop can become that mechanism, sometimes, for a mutually beneficial relationship.

Despite the many positive aspects of labor involvement which he points out, Phillips says he knows of no Goodwills which pay union scale to their drivers. One, however, does contract its pickup and delivery service to an outside company which has a Teamsters contract. I asked what outcome he would predict if union scale were demanded of Goodwills. He replied,

"Goodwill Industries would probably go out of the trucking business. They might set up centralized receiving stations and there would be no more pick-up from homes and collection booths. There might be 'drop-offs' at local stores, and refurbishment might go on at store locations, rather than being brought into a main plant and then distributed to stores. However that might go, it is clear that Goodwill Industries cannot pay union scales."

2. Marketing

Marketing is also a very important aspect with considerable implications for the future. Malone (1976) believes attention to marketing is essential to workshops' survival, and those who choose not to become marketing oriented will find work increasingly hard to get. He sees deinstitutionalization trends as requiring workshops to both expand and change their direction from being transitional to providing extended employment.

Citing the Greenleigh study (1975), he indicates that only a third of the workshops today have staffing for even one aspect of marketing: contract procurement. He stresses the need for executive directors to assume the role of marketing manager and to look beyond the usual industrial subcontracts to NISH, State-use, supermarket industry prime manufacturing, direct mail prime manufacturing, and industrial new product manufacturing. Malone also believes many small firms would turn production over to workshops if they only knew of their existence, and would provide long-term rather than short-term subcontracts.

3. European Countries

A recapitulation of what we have to learn from European countries is provided by Redkey (1975).

- *Denmark:* Subsidizing people who are disabled does not necessarily destroy incentive to work; subsidy of sheltered workshops is an absolute must; enclave projects are worth more study.

- *Sweden:* Regional evaluation has everything to recommend it; archives programs could be readily adapted to the U. S.; we should face up to the costs of sheltered work in a program that pays normal wages.

- *Poland:* We should separate services from extended employment so the latter can concentrate on production; we should consider the cooperative form of organization

for our extended employment shops; we should get our workshops better equipped; we should consider making shops for those who cannot work in normal industry the focal point for health, social, and recreational service delivery; we should assign sheltered work a respectable role in the national life; we should consider tax waivers as a form of subsidy.

- *West Germany:* Quota systems don't work; the size of sheltered workshops is important to efficiency; chain operation of workshops might increase their efficiency; again, we should try tax waivers.

- *The Netherlands:* Social employment is a simple but expensive method; "open air" projects are an excellent way to employ disabled workers and get needed work done; we should consider using groups of sheltered employees to do contract construction for public and private industry; again, we should try using good equipment and buildings for workshops.

There is not one point I disagree with, but I believe the timing may be particularly right for trying the cooperative approach here. War ravishment, and the solidarity that shared tragedy can bring, stimulated the growth of the Polish cooperatives many years ago. In the U. S. today, the rapidly growing solidarity among disabled people may be ready to support such a movement here. The viability of PAMCO suggests that a group of disabled people looking after their own economic self-interest can both establish and maintain a for-profit as well as a nonprofit enterprise.

The only mystery is why the model has not been replicated over and over again in these past 25 years. It may have something to do with too much "taking care" of people with disabilities and the absence of esprit among veterans, including disabled veterans, since the World War II era. Whatever the causes of past inertia, the consumer and independent living movement suggest that the worm is about ready to turn. It's odd that it's happening just at a time when the mass media say the young people are expressing such despair about their futures and the degree of control over them which they hold.

4. Government Control of Workshops

Government control of workshops is an issue which looms important in the foreign literature, particularly the subissue of centralized control. Holland has it; England wants it. Bertram Black (1965) states unequivocally that workshops in the U. S. should not and

will not be government controlled. "So long as the products made and services rendered are those normally prepared in the private business sector, that is where the sheltered workshop will be in our society."

Redkey (1975), on the other hand, sees flexibility in administration with several options, such as operation by private organizations, State operation, singly or as a chain, or cooperatives. Government monitoring he sees as essential, as is true for any business. I agree enthusiastically and would like to see each of these approaches tested and their advantages and disadvantages documented.

5. Government Subvention of Workshops

Government subvention of workshops is a financing issue which is not easily measured as to its relative degree in various countries. Some writers lust hungrily after what they see as far greater support by the state in Europe and elsewhere abroad. Others insist that the government subsidy is as great in this country – we just label it differently. Phillips, for example, states, "If government monies were pulled out in the U. S., the whole vocational rehabilitation system would collapse, just as would be true in European countries."

6. Mainstream Employment

Mainstream employment brings up a different set of issues. For example, it is tempting and easy to poke gentle fun at a British report which went on a bit opposing subsidies for reasons relating to the well-being of disabled individuals when the real concern was almost certainly M-O-N-E-Y. However, we do similar things, like promulgate myths about why employers don't (like to) hire people with disabilities. In these days of monitored affirmative action plans for disabled workers, it is not likely that myths such as "They will make the other employees uncomfortable" will survive much longer. Who will pretend to care if the alternative is losing Federal contracts or wasting time in getting hassled about it? If it means union problems because a disabled worker is seen as getting equal pay for unequal work, that is a different issue.

If the issue is a cut-in-profit margin, the employer will surely try to find a way to avoid "hiring the handicapped." As has been pointed out, what employers say concerns them is getting a worker who has the skills to produce a quality product on time. They say they fear they will not get this from a disabled employee. Therefore, this is a major issue which must be dealt with in job development.

7. Job Development

Job development, or what passes for such, would usually more accurately be called "job solicitation" (Greenleigh, 1975). Job development is not just a matter of asking an employer to place a disabled worker in a given vacant position. It involves a creative process of simultaneous discovery and development which results in a modified or new position which (1) takes care of a work need of the employer; and (2) can be done by a specific disabled worker or is uniquely apropos to a particular group of disabled workers, such as people who are deaf or lack upper extremity function. Thus, job development is a mixture of job solicitation, job modification, and job creation.

In industry, there is considerable inertia relating to the latter two. "The division of labor has been working just fine, thank you! We don't need any changes!" Rehabilitation people going into businesses and industries proffering "expert" advice on job redesign and related phenomena, motivated by a desire to make a place for a client and not particularly by a desire to help the employer, need to be very careful not to oversell themselves. The result has been turning off employers to others coming later who might have had solid knowledge of workflow processes which could benefit the employer as well as make a place for a client. A team of experts is probably needed, since it is unlikely to find the diverse kinds of expertise needed in one person.

8. The Rehabilitation Engineer

The rehabilitation engineer can be an important member of a job-development team. This person can supply information on what is available or feasible to allow a severely disabled person to function in a given job capacity. In this gadget-oriented society, this part can capture the imagination of the employer and entice involvement in the total enterprise. Everyone likes to stump the engineer and think of something clever and workable faster than he does.

The role the rehabilitation engineer plays in worksite and machine modifications which will permit people with motor and sensory impairments to perform jobs cannot be overstressed. A magnificent example of the potential of this field is the "talking calculator," which has opened up a whole host of mathematical occupations to blind people which were never before possible. This is a crucial area of job accommodation possibilities which will allow severely disabled people to work and meet performance standards comparable to workers without comparable disabilities.

9. Accommodations

Accommodations of other types which need to be explored and exploited for disabled workers are job-sharing and flex-time. It may be that job-sharing or flex-time provisions would not be needed for the lifetime of the disabled person's career with a given firm. They might be needed only at the beginning, while the individual works out the special arrangements for transportation, attendant care, and any other life support systems which might be needed for the severely disabled worker. If we accept the fact that these arrangements take some trial and error adjustments, and therefore time, and don't slam the gate on the individual because he or she does not, indeed, probably cannot, have them worked out in advance, it is certain that many severely disabled people who have not been able to get into an employment situation would be able to do so. Other things hold them back, too.

10. Irrelevant Training

Irrelevant training is one of the saddest phenomena on the rehabilitation scene. The number of disabled people who are trained for employment through the State-Federal VR system, only to find there are no jobs available in the area for which they have been trained, is far too high. It is fashionable to blame the rehabilitation counselors for this and, of course, part of the responsibility does, indeed, reside there.

But the problem is much more imbedded in the system than a lack of job and labor market information on the part of individual counselors. No one in the entire vocational rehabilitation organization knows what jobs exist where. Moreover, no one in the vocational schools and colleges that deliver the training knows either. They rely on faulty statistics from the State service-delivery arm of the U. S. Employment Service. It turns out they don't know either. Their projections of supply and demand occupations are based on the job order information that comes into the State employment agencies from a tiny subset of employers who use them for filling jobs. Estimates range as low as 5 percent. People in vocational rehabilitation have long admitted and lamented that counselors and others know a great deal about clients, but next to nothing about the world of work. A Department of Labor report (1967) indicates that the same is true for Employment Service interviewers.

It seems time to stop indulging in rueful lamentation and initiate corrective action. We must have accurate information on job and labor markets for employment interviewers and rehabilitation counselors to rely on. It is really expecting too much to expect either to dig out a full range of information in an area where the total resources of two huge bureaucracies have been unable to do it.

Finding there is no job at all following training is one part of the problem. Another part is finding that although it seemed like a feasible job area, it is not, and no accommodations can make it so. What is needed in such a case is job analysis. Neither client, counselor, nor supervisor was aware that there were critical aspects of a particular job that a person lacking dexterity, visual acuity, or whatever simply would not be able to do.

The outcomes of this kind of error in rehabilitation planning are often (1) an unemployed client; or (2) a client who must work in an unnecessarily sheltered setting when, if he or she had been trained in an appropriate area, no shelter would be required at all. The counselor is more directly responsible for this type of error, but, again, the system supports are lacking. We must take corrective steps so that needed job analyses are done; so that severely disabled people, who have often lost many years already to hospitalization and such, don't need to lose more years because, "Oops! I never thought of that!"

11. Incentives and Disincentives to Employers

Incentives and disincentives to employers for hiring workers with disabilities need to be considered. Phillips insists that employers don't need incentives, they just need to be given reasonable assurance that they're not going to lose their shirts if they hire workers with disabilities. In other words, he stresses the removal of disincentives.

One of the most important disincentives that needs to be removed is liability for second injuries. Many States have no second injury laws and the States that do, generally consider theirs inadequate. In California, for example, if the total disability is judged to be 70% or greater, the employer is not adversely affected. If it is less than that, however, the employer may be liable for covering costs of a disability which the individual had prior to coming to work for that firm. Clearly, the laws governing second injuries need to be improved to eliminate this kind of disincentive to employers.

With respect to incentives, European countries which have tried direct wage subsidies to disabled workers in open employment seem to have had considerable problems with that approach. However, there is no evidence that the tax relief approach has been problematical. This country has tried the welfare recipient tax credit and the WIN tax credit with modest success. They are also modest credits, however. Perhaps if they offered a more significant tax relief and were publicized more, the response to them would be less lackadaisical. Perhaps analogous programs for SSI recipients or any other substantially disabled persons could be successful if these changes were made.

12. Innovations

Innovations are desperately needed. The *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* divides the world of work into three types of employment: jobs that deal with people, data, and things. One of the inherent limitations of segregated, sheltered workshops is that almost all of the available jobs are "thing" jobs, regardless of the predilections of the worker. People who are making subminimum wages on assembly and benchwork tasks might be able to make very respectable salaries in a suitable field. For example, whereas my annual income has exceeded $30,000 for years now, when I was time-studied on the assembly of convention badges at a workshop I directed some time ago, I was worth exactly 19.5 cents per hour. There are very few opportunities for "data" and "people" jobs in most workshops today. If workshops are to expand and resume the mission of providing significant long-term employment, either more of the latter must be created in the workshops, or other avenues must be found for workers who need shelter but would enjoy and be more proficient at the other kinds of jobs.

Redkey believes our basic workshop programs must be restructured in light of the low wages and low morale of workers as well as the alleged poor management. Toward this end, he believes the evaluation function should be removed to some other place which would then refer people judged unable to enter ordinary employment to a nationwide sheltered employment system. This would include outdoor projects and other approaches discussed throughout.

As a central part of this, Redkey would like to see one or more mechanisms for what he calls "intermediate employment." In an extensive series of interviews with facility and VR agency people (Redkey, 1976), he found that essentially all concerned saw a need for intermediate employment for the people they could not place in private employment. He relates discussions on the idea of an intermediate employment agency which could maintain high management standards, be well equipped, maintain good labor relations, pay prevailing wages, subsidize wages from Federal funds when necessary, and emphasize employment, leaving rehabilitation to other agencies. He believes this would put a premium on workers managing their own lives by paying adequate wages and dropping SSI payments. Whether or not this is the perfect model is not the issue. What strikes me as positive and important is that here is someone who is willing to put forward a model to be subjected to others' critical scrutiny and tested empirically.

Phillips also related a promising new cooperative type of venture. GIA is now setting up an arrangement with NIB to sell blind-made products at Goodwill stores. I asked if other disabled-made wares could be sold through Goodwill, and he indicated that while the IRS views dimly the sale of more than 3 percent unrelated income, it would not be a problem as long as the items were made by other disabled

people. He also agreed that Goodwill stores might have boutiques and galleries of wares made by the participants at the various independent living programs for the severely disabled. He indicated they had asked NIB if it would like to sell products through the 850 Goodwill outlets, noting that one Goodwill executive had already taken NIB products on consignment. The experiment has started in Dallas, and he expects it to expand.

He also believes the development of proprietary products for workshops is generally desirable. He feels that one way to do it is to piggyback on NIB experience. He pointed out that NISH shops are making laundry bags, picture frames, file boxes, etc., for the Government and sees no reason why they couldn't produce more to sell to the public. NIB shops are currently selling items to the public that don't meet Government specifications.

13. Enclaves

Enclaves, according to Phillips, have not yet been tried by Goodwills except for seven JWOD contracts to provide janitorial services and groundskeeping for office buildings, Government agencies, and manufacturing concerns. However, GIA has submitted a proposal to the Department of Labor for a CETA-funded PWI which entails transitional enclaves. He expresses the opinion that one result of the section 504 regulations of the 1973 Rehabilitation Act will be establishing enclave units in mainstream industry which can pay piece rates to disabled workers. Regular industry cannot do this if they are paying other workers an hourly rate.

The Fountain House group placement model is a highly successful transitional enclave approach. John Beard, administrator of Fountain House, indicates in a personal communication that the model has been imported by a large number of facilities working with mentally disabled people and one program serving people with epilepsy. Surely this basic model can and should be replicated in many sites for many different disability populations.

The Santa Fe Springs work experience model is incorporated in the Los Angeles City PWI by virtue of the fact that the Santa Fe Springs Assistant City Manager took the time to go meet with the big city planners and share his ideas and experience with them.

These are two illustrative situations in which good ideas have been disseminated. However, counting on providence for information transfer is not ideal. Systematic and reliable mechanisms are needed to handle this and other kinds of information problems, such as the one which follows.

14. Finance Consultants

Finance consultants are needed. In response to Redkey's caution about language and politico-economic barriers to understanding, I believe we should send a cadre of American economists and business/industrial experts, who also know the Polish language, to visit the Cooperatives of the Disabled in Poland, now that the rehabilitation experts have had a chance to determine whether the approach is generally consonant with American rehabilitation philosophy. We also need to bring Polish consultants here for part of the preparatory work in establishing a demonstration of how a cooperative might work in the U. S. Hopefully, this will also lead to understanding why countries such as Poland are reporting profits from their workshops while countries like England report that sheltered employment costs the government more than maintaining the person on welfare.

15. Proposed National Center for the Handicapped

The proposed National Center for the Handicapped might serve as an information clearinghouse on what has been tried and whether/why it succeeded or failed. It might also take the initiative for demonstrations of the workability of enclaves, cooperatives, and other approaches in the U. S. Proposed by Goodwill Industries of America as a result of their 1976 feasibility study conducted for the Rehabilitation Services Administration, the primary thrust of the Center would be to train leaders for the full range of rehabilitation organizations. Phillips points out that Goodwill is currently the only national rehabilitation organization which requires structured management training for its top level people. Others have only random recruiting options and tend to hire people with strong social but weak business backgrounds. The proposed Center would make specialized rehabilitation management training available to all.

Of critical importance to the topic at hand, a significant research and development component is also proposed in the "National Center," and a third component would be an experimental workshop where ideas and procedures developed in the other two components might be tried out. I asked Phillips if he believed the "National Center" would be a good site for testing how well some of the European models would work in the U. S., primarily the enclave model. I also asked if the R & D component might take on a project of sending economists and other finance experts, plus business and industrial experts, to sample both free world and communist countries' workshops to clarify the apparently discrepant profit and loss experiences. Phillips indicated he sees such projects as ideal for the Center, if it comes about.

Moreover, he says he expects the R & D component to prove to Congress that rehabilitation saves money: that it is an investment, not a cost. Specifically, he disagrees with Redkey's conclusion that

sheltered slots cost more money than they save. He speculates that in Europe, the institutional programs cost less, and since there is no emphasis on placement, the sheltered slots actually have big and costly service components, compared with the institutions.

> "Some European countries conduct sheltered workshop programs as if they were institutions and, naturally, they cost more with their modern equipment and specialized services than their regular institutions with just four walls and a bed."

These conflicting views form the nucleus of what could be an exciting set of social experiments and demonstrations. As another example, Senator Hubert Humphrey introduced S. 506 on January 28, 1977. It is an amendment to the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 for the purpose of providing wage supplements to handicapped individuals working in sheltered workshops or in activity centers. It has been introduced by Senator Humphrey many times before. This time, however, the legislation is proposed as a demonstration project to examine the feasibility of providing supplementary income payments to long-term, low-productivity workshop and work activity center clients.

Phillips believes this oft-defeated legislation has a chance to go now as a demonstration, whereas it did not when people saw it as another welfare program. He would like to see the "National Center" track this demonstration along epidemiological lines.

16. Military Service

Military service was the topic of one of the most stimulating conversations of the entire research period for this report. The fact that disabled people are unabashedly discriminated against with respect to participating in the Federally funded military services has long been an irritant to my system. Consumer groups are not clamoring for their right to be inducted for both obvious and not-so-obvious reasons. Some disabled people, specifically young men during wartime, figure being 4-F is one of the few benefits of disability. Most, however, don't realize the magnitude of benefits they are giving up by maintaining this protected status.

I recall an abortive attempt to discuss this as a serious issue with a recruiting officer on a local TV program on which we were both guests some years ago. He nearly exploded and the moderator changed the subject quickly since I had obviously lost my reason by suggesting that severely disabled people may have not only a responsibility but an inalienable right to serve their country. Recalling this, with some trepidation, I asked Phillips what he thought about the issue. For a moment he was silent; then he cocked his head to one side and finally began to speak:

> "Well, you kind of got me there. I just hadn't thought of it. Why of course disabled people should have the opportunities military service provides! The Marine Corps is the only branch that requires everyone to be combat ready at all times, so disabled people ought to be inductible into every other branch. The opportunities for trade training and the many benefits of veteran's status should certainly be available to disabled citizens. The Peace Corps and VISTA are alternatives, but they don't offer anything comparable to the fringe benefits of military service . . . complete health care for self and family, lodging, meals for self, cheap/convenient supplies for self and family, experience and salary — plus the whole host of benefits that accrue to the veteran, whether from peace or wartime."

To say that I was gratified by his response would be a pale shadow of my exuberant joy.

Most military occupational specialties have civilian counterparts, and most civilian jobs can be done by someone with some kind of disability. If a paraplegic, say, can do a clerical job in the civilian sector, there is no reason why she or he cannot do it in the military sector. If one can, one ought to have the opportunity to do it and reap the benefits like anyone else. Phillips is currently attempting to arrange a meeting with Vice President Mondale on this issue.

B. SYNTHESIS

In the opinion of this writer, there are two major, philosophical questions at the base of all of the foregoing considerations. One was asked directly by Riscalla (1974) in the title of her article, "Could Workshops Become Obsolete?" The second has been asked or implied by nearly every writer reviewed: "Which is the better way — welfare or wages?" The two questions are independent of one another.

When Henry Redkey acknowledges that maybe the English and Dutch analysts are right, that it does cost more to keep a disabled person in sheltered employment than it would to support him at home, he is doing something much different than surface appearances might suggest. In the vernacular, I believe he is saying, "I don't care whether it saves money or costs money; what's right is right!" He is convinced that providing opportunities for valued work is right for disabled people. If it actually proves to save rather than cost money, then that is a nice bonus.

But whether or not it costs money should not be a deciding factor in whether we do it. X-ray machines cost money, too, but we don't decide to forgo them because of that fact. We might be the ones to need them someday. Maybe the difference in attitude is because, somehow, it's a little harder to imagine being one of the ones who might ever need sheltered work.

The inevitability of employers trying to avoid "hiring the handicapped" if disabled workers are going to cost them money was alluded to earlier. However, that is only true given the system we are used to working in and around. Suppose we had a different system? Imagine one in which the employer simply understands that he has some employees who can only perform if accommodations, which have costs attached to them, are made. It is also clear that these costs must either be covered by a government (tax) subsidy or passed on to the customer in increased prices for goods or services, just as for all of the other costs encountered.

In Civil Service employment, this approach should be relatively easy to implement because tax moneys are going to be used either way. They can be used to pay welfare to people who are doing no work in exchange for it, or they can be used to pay for the job accommodations needed by severely disabled people so that they CAN work in exchange for a salary which is, hopefully, at least somewhat larger than their welfare grant would have been. Outside of the Civil Service employment system, one encounters the problems of assigning "pass-through" costs in the competitive enterprise sector. The concept will not be easy to implement there. However, it is not necessarily impossible.

If you are a consumer, the thought of the cost being passed on to you drives you crazy, right? "What! Pay more than I do now for the junk I buy? Never!" On the other hand, if they're working, you're no longer supporting them on the various welfare programs for the disabled. You're paying your part through consumer prices INSTEAD OF, NOT IN ADDITION TO taxes. If it saves you nothing but costs you nothing either, why not? It appears to be psychologically much superior for the disabled person involved.

If you're an employer, you're concerned about competing. How can you compete if you provide expensive supports for very severely disabled workers and rival firms cut corners by hiring less disabled, less costly employees to meet their "disabled affirmative action" goals? "It just won't work!" I hear you say.

And that is true; it will not work in the system we are used to working in and around today. We cannot change one part of that system without dislocating the rest. The planning which must

be done to implement this or any other workable system MUST encompass our entire national economic system or it is foredoomed to worse than failure. It will be laughable.

Let us begin to show that the lives and work efforts of disabled citizens are important enough to be integrated into our overall national planning effort. My final suggestions are that a cost analysis of the California Department of Rehabilitation policy to provide whatever supports are needed by disabled employees be conducted and the results widely disseminated; that the concept be explored and implemented on a demonstration basis in various locations throughout all levels of Civil Service; and that an appropriation be pursued to initiate planning to extend the concept into the private employment sector with a view toward letting the consumer price traffic bear what it will bear before government subsidies to employers and/or disabled workers are resorted to.

Why not? The conception has haunted me a bit since it first occurred to me and, frankly, I hope it begins to haunt you a little, too.

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Recommendations for improving workshop operations are made. Special emphasis is focused on wage levels paid in sheltered workshops and work activity centers.

50. Vash, Carolyn W. and Murray, Bruce M. *The Employment Demonstration Project.* Final report to the U. S. Dept. of Labor, Office of Manpower Policy, Education and Research, 1969. 76 pp.

This report chronicles the development, conduct, and outcomes of a three-year project to develop severely disabled minority applicants rejected from the VR system as a manpower resource.

51. Viscardi, Henry, Jr. *The Abilities Story.* New York: Paul S. Erickson, Inc. 1967. 236 pp.

A conversational account of the philosophy, development, maintenance, and growth of Abilities, Inc. in Albertson, Long Island.

52. Walker, Robert, et al. "Social Restoration of Hospitalized Psychiatric Patients Through a Program of Special Employment in Industry," *Rehabilitation Literature* 30(10), October 1969: 297-303.

The Community Hospital Industrial Rehabilitation Placement (CHIRP) program at the Veterans Administration Hospital, Brockton, Massachusetts, is discussed.

53. Wheatley, James A. "Other States' Laws Protecting the Disabled in Employment." Report to the Directorate, California Department of Rehabilitation. [Unpublished internal memorandum.] April 1977. 4 pp.

This internal departmental memorandum lists, in tabular fashion, the status of 42 States responding to a survey conducted by the California VR Agency.